

# The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH  
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND  
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

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Frontispiece: John Max Wulfig

Editorial: John Max Wulfig  
Why Study Latin?

R. C. F. 481  
Harry M. Hubbell 482

On Inland Transportation and Communication in Antiquity

William Linn Westermann 483

Some Latin Writers of Spain

Charles Christopher Mierow 498

Caesar and the Boy of Today

Fanny Howell 509

The "Terentian" Comedies of a Tenth-Century Nun

Cornelia C. Coulter 515

Note

530

Polyaenus and the Cycle

Alfred P. Dorjahn

Book Reviews

531

Ralph V. D. Magoffin and Margaret Y. Henry, *Latin — First Year* (Heuring); H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Dean); W. E. Heitland, *Last Words on the Roman Municipalities* (Harrer); Frank P. Chambers, *Cycles of Taste, An Unacknowledged Problem in Ancient Art and Criticism* (Fraser); Horace Leonard Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (Robinson); M. M. Gillies, *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, Book III* (Duncan); F. C. Doherty, *Three Private Speeches of Demosthenes* (Dorjahn).

Hints for Teachers

547

Current Events

555

Recent Books

558

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the co-operation of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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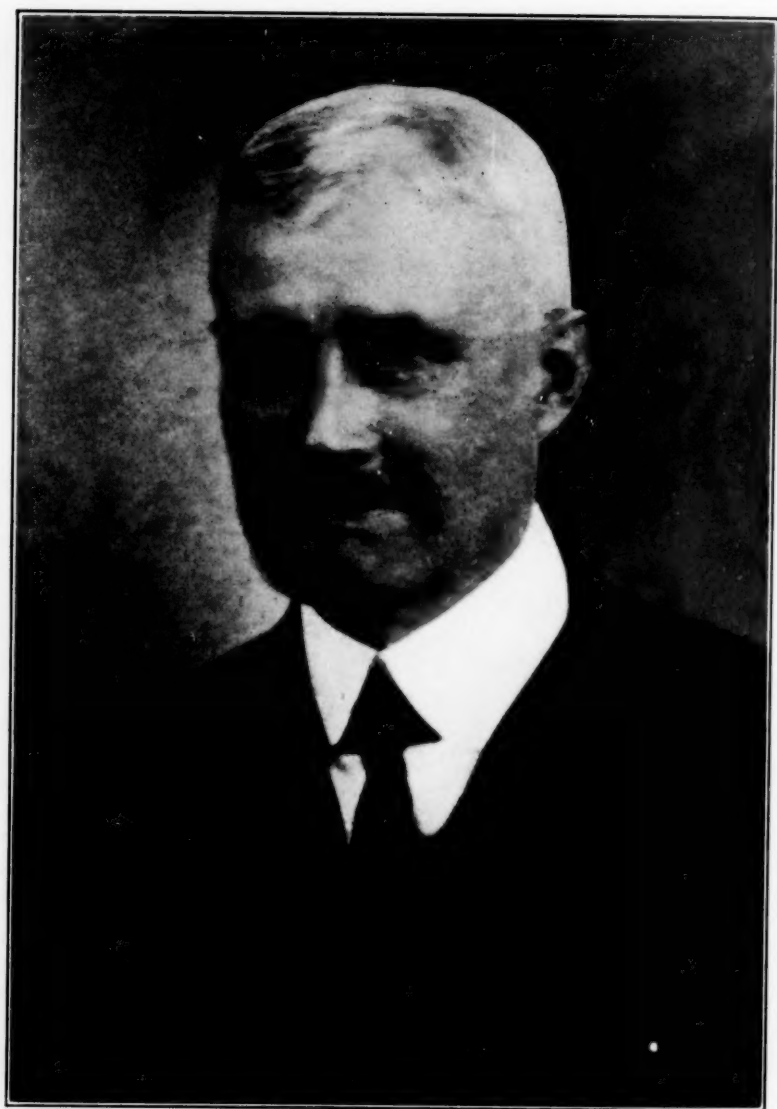
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JOHN MAX WULFING  
December 6, 1859-January 28, 1929



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## Editorial

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JOHN MAX WULFING

Mr. Wulfing died on January 28, 1929, following a mastoid operation, in his sixty-ninth year. As a concomitant of an active and unusually successful business career he had developed an extraordinary enthusiasm for numismatics and classical archaeology, and his collection of Roman coins is probably superior to any other private collection in this country and surpassed by only one museum. His command of his field was rivaled by perhaps not more than one man on this continent — an extraordinary attainment for a layman. In manner he was democratic, and broad in his sympathies. It was his custom and delight to attend the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute, and he was widely known among classical archaeologists both in this country and abroad. A particular source of pleasure for him was to induce some Latin teacher to begin a small collection of Roman coins, and he would often furnish the nucleus by a gift of a few denarii. He had recently installed nearly 5000 specimens in a special room at Washington University, selected for it a numismatic library of several hundred volumes, and given an endowment to provide for new accessions; and he was justly proud of the fact that a course in numismatics was to be given there, for the first time, during the present semester. His generosity was displayed in helping German scholars after the World War and by contributions towards the resumption of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and for the publication of new works such as the second volume of Horace by Otto Keller (Jena, W. Biedermann, 1925). Several German cities

and universities honored themselves by extending official recognition to his scholarly activities. It is to be regretted that America does not possess more men of his type. His loss will be deeply felt not only as a personal one by scores of men in our field but also as leaving an irreplaceable gap in our ranks.

R. C. F.

#### WHY STUDY LATIN?

Every teacher of the classics is frequently confronted with the necessity of justifying his work, either in reply to the attacks of those not in sympathy with these studies, or to confirm his own faith in the value of his profession. Therefore no apology is needed for reprinting a statement which in a few words expresses the very essence of the matter. It is from the *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Prime Minister to Inquire into the Position of Classics in the Educational System of the United Kingdom*, published in 1921.<sup>1</sup>

To learn the language fashioned by an alien race to express its racial experience is in itself a penetrating education. Its value will vary according to the greatness and fineness of the experience in question, including the amount of new and relevant experience it brings to us, the completeness of the language itself as a record, and other similar factors. The comparison of the strange language with the native language should produce not only knowledge but in a peculiar degree instinctive knowledge of the energies, the limitations and the reactions of that supreme instrument of human self-expression.

Accordingly the ultimate defence of a classical education in the strict sense of the phrase is that the Greeks and Romans were races whose languages were developed under the stimulus of peculiarly noble and successful experience; that their experience found very perfect expression in literature, exposing clearly the character of thought and feeling enshrined in the languages; that the experiences thus enshrined are singularly well-marked in type, comparatively unbroken by cross-currents from without and diverse from one another, and that the languages are sufficiently unlike our own to compel attention to every step in the mechanism of linguistic expression. It is no disadvantage for our purpose that each race was dogged by the defect of its excellences; both the lapse and the achievement may be almost equally instructive.

HARRY M. HUBBELL

<sup>1</sup> London, His Majesty's Stationery Office.

## ON INLAND TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION IN ANTIQUITY<sup>1</sup>

By WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN  
Columbia University

Every change in antiquity toward increased speed of transportation of goods, increased comfort of travel, and greater rapidity of communication must have had results upon ancient social and economic life relatively as important as each corresponding change has had in modern times. Some of the outstanding innovations in these respects one finds mentioned in the current histories of ancient civilization. Upon the development of shipping and its results and upon the general political, economic, and social life of antiquity, numerous studies are at hand. Regarding methods and changes in inland transportation and communication there is astonishingly little available, even in the larger histories of ancient civilization. An adequate attempt to supply this want cannot be made in a paper so brief as this must be. It is, therefore, to be regarded as a project which may repay an investigation much more complete than can here be accorded it.

In 1925 a newspaper report announced that Stephen H. Langdon had discovered representations of toy horses in a palace at Sumerian Kish which belonged to a period about 3000 B. C. So far as the existing evidence stood before 1925, the horse had not been known in these lands before 2200 B. C. The new discovery is important; but if confirmed by authoritative publication, it would not materially change the previous historical conclusion that the *use* of the horse in the Sumerian-Akkadian centers was not widespread until over a thousand years later. Just as the ele-

<sup>1</sup> This article has grown out of a paper originally written for presentation at the annual meeting of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club at Ann Arbor in April, 1928. Another version, with numerous references to the ancient sources, may be found in *Political Science Quart.* XLIII (1928), 364-87.

phant is fully known to us and used in children's toys in our country but has for us no economic significance, in the same way the horse may have been known in the Sumerian towns by 3000 B. C. — no doubt as a strange and foreign animal; but it did not come into general use there until after 2000 B. C. Support for this conclusion is to be found in a large group of business documents, datable in the period from 2500 B. C. to 2200 B. C. and found near ancient Caesarea in Cappadocia, which deal with the trade between an Assyrian bazaar at that place and ancient Assur. The horse does not appear in these documents nor in the Hammurapi Code. It is first mentioned, as "the ass from the east," in a letter of the Hammurapi period.

The wagon with two wheels was an invention long since known in the Sumerian towns. The use of the horse-drawn chariot in warfare was not a difficult step forward. It may have come with the Kassites when they entered Babylonia about 1750 B. C.; or it may have been evolved by the civilized Babylonians through the application of this new and swift motive power to a type of vehicle already well known to them. This new engine of war greatly increased the mobility of armies. It brought into tactical maneuvers the possibility of concentrating immediately at the essential point of a battlefield a force which might often determine the outcome of a battle. On a priori grounds it seems reasonable to attribute, as has recently been done, the conquest and the long control of the Babylonian lowlands by the Kassites to the greater mobility which their armies possessed over hostile armies through the use of the horse in warcraft.

Almost immediately the Egyptians became acquainted with the use of the horse-drawn chariot in war, presumably through the Hyk-shasu (Hyksos) who invaded Egypt from Syria. One outstanding and highly important development, which followed hard upon the exploitation of the horse in warfare, may reasonably be attributed to the application of its speed to the problem of communication between distant places. This lies in the extraordinary increase in the area of direct diplomatic relations and of international communication which appears in the Tell Amarna cor-

respondence of the fourteenth century B. C. Recently this fact has been explained, on its material side, as due to the use of chariot-riding messengers.

It is a strange fact, that the possibility of increased speed which lay in the introduction of the horse was not utilized by the Egyptians in their commercial expeditions. Even the Pharaohs and the nobles seldom rode horseback. As far down as 750 B. C. it was still regarded as something uncommon and worthy of special mention when an Egyptian prince of Sais rode horseback and "asked not for his chariot." The common people walked afoot or rode donkeys. The upper caste used litters. For heavy draft work bullocks were employed; for lighter work, donkeys. Presumably on long caravan hauls donkeys were used. The speed of the old Pharaonic caravans which penetrated southward into Yam (central Africa) continued, therefore, throughout the history of Pharaonic Egypt, to be determined by the possible distance which laden donkeys might cover each day. *Directly*, therefore, the horse had not become an economic good generally affecting the speed of transport in trade or the travel of merchants and their agents. *Indirectly* it did affect both the speed and the volume of goods in transport through its half-breed offspring, the mule. The use of the mule as draft and transport animal, though known to the Babylonians of the second millennium, first becomes marked in the reliefs of the Assyrian period.

In the course of the ninth century B. C. we first find the use of light horse cavalry, as an adjunct of the chariot corps of the Assyrian army. In the history of warfare in the Near East this arm of the military service has been of outstanding importance continuously since that day.

In our present attitude toward war and peace it is difficult for us to grant that wars have been a source of ferment, an historical force and a civilizing agency, that they have furthered invention and the adaptation of known, but latent, possibilities; and that these adaptations for warfare often remained as a residuum of good to human kind in times of peace. War, the destroyer, has also been a great disperser of utilities. Such dispersion of an economic

asset by wars may be observed in the spread of the camel as a transport animal. Native to the desert spaces of Arabia and south central Asia, it was known in the third millennium to the Sumerians, but not used by them. The name they gave to it was the "ass of the sea-lands." Presumably these "sea-lands" would be the Syrian desert. After the Semites fully controlled the Babylonian area the Semitic name *gamallu* appears. The word appears rarely, however, in the Babylonian records; and the rational explanation has been offered that the Arabs kept the trade from the oases to the border towns of the desert in their own hands, and that, as a requirement of their monopoly of desert trade, they kept their camels to themselves. Whether for this reason or from mere economic inertia of an undeveloped people, the fact remains that down to about 1000 B. C. camel breeding had not developed in the desert oases to the point of supplying a surplus of these animals for sale to the peoples inhabiting the arable lands along the desert's rim. It was the conquering Assyrian kings who brought the camel into general use in the Tigris-Euphrates region. They adopted it as a beast of burden in war and through their campaigns spread the knowledge of its peculiar advantages in relations with the desert. The conquest of Syria, Philistia, and Palestine by Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B. C.) brought great numbers of camels to his armies as booty from the Arabian tribes. After his capture of Damascus, Samsi, a desert Queen of the Aribi who lived in the modern Djof, paid heavy tribute to the Assyrian conqueror in cattle and camels. Thereafter, in the late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, the camel became a military beast of burden in South Western Asia, a regular appendage of all large army movements.

Upon the basis of an increase in the numbers of the camels bred in the desert of Arabia, we can rationally explain the development of the early Arab cultures of the Minyaeon and Sabaeon kingdoms of southern Arabia and their inclusion within the outer fringes of the Mediterranean world. The former began its development about 1300 B. C., the latter about 800 B. C. Likewise the movement of the Nabataeans from the desert westward into Ara-



bia Petraea followed hard upon the extension of camel breeding; and the consequent development of the Nabataean culture centering at Petra is roughly datable within the period of more extensive use of the camel. No change in the possibility of penetration of desert Arabia beyond that effected by camel riding has occurred since that time until about twenty-five years ago.

One of the outstanding results of this study to its writer has been to emphasize his previous realization that the adoption of new ideas and inventions from one country to another customarily proceeded very slowly, at least until the beginning of the Greek cultural supremacy about 600 B. C. The reasons for this inertia may well lie within the domain of varying mass psychologies, back of which lie, on the positive side, the strength of local customs and traditions (adherence to the *mores maiorum*), and on the negative side the power of ancient taboos. A striking instance of this may be noted in the failure of the Pharaonic Egyptians to make use of the camel. Though it was known to the Egyptians even in Neolithic times and may have been used throughout the Pharaonic period in the caravan trade across the desert eastward of the Nile, within Egypt itself the use of the camel was exceptional, if it was used at all. It does appear, however, in the Zenon papyri of the time of Ptolemy II in regular use as a beast of burden in the Nile valley and in the thriving trade of the dioecetes, Apollonius, into Philistia and Palestine. A Columbia University papyrus, as yet unpublished, tells of the use of camels, in groups of two or four, carrying bricks, dates, mattresses, or pickled meats between Gaza and Egypt, and carrying wheat in Galilee. When the camels traveled without a load they were said to be "empty," just as our freight cars are; and when they received freight cargoes they were said to have "taken" — that is, they had taken a load. Along with them mules were used, differentiated as "carriage" mules and "pack" mules. The chances are that the introduction of the camel into the economic life of Egypt came with the conquering armies of the Assyrians or with the Persian armies of Cambyses. For Cyrus the Great, when he began to take over the dominion of the shattered Assyrian Empire, already used camels

as an important part of his commissariat and equipment train, and Herodotus states that there was a camel corps of Arab fighting men in Xerxes' army. It is, therefore, apparent that the Persians had adopted the use of the camel when they took over the dominion of the old Assyrian Empire in the sixth century. From the Persians Alexander adopted the camel for its use in desert travel, at least.

It is not suprising to find that the camel never appeared in the countries of Southern Europe, except as an exotic animal, to be shown in the pomp and ceremony of triumphal processions and games. Climatic conditions offer a satisfactory explanation of this fact. It is astonishing, however, how slowly its use extended along the shore of North Africa westward into Numidia; for despite the chill weather of the winter months, it is well adapted to the country and is much used by the Berber tribes today in their seasonal movements in search of work. There is only the one record that King Juba of Numidia in his support of the senatorial forces in 46 B. C. against Julius Caesar, had camels in his army. Pliny the Elder, who had visited North Africa in person, fails to mention the camel as a feature of the life of the country. Only in the fourth century of our era does it become common there. Two suggestions for this situation present themselves — local custom combined with inertia, and the lack of any large movement of conquering armies westward in North Africa from the camel-using countries of Egypt and Syria.

The Romans first became acquainted with the use of the camel as a transport and fighting branch of military service in their war with Antiochus the Great of Syria. At the battle of Magnesia in 190 B. C. they met, without apparent difficulty, an Arab camel corps of *sagittarii* aligned with the scythe-bearing chariots of Antiochus. They made no attempt to incorporate this branch of the service of the Hellenistic monarchs into their armies. Nor was such a development to be expected, since they carried on no wars which required desert penetration until the time of Augustus. Even then it came to them only through the bitter experience of necessity. In 27 B. C. Augustus sent his ill-starred prefect of

Egypt, Aelius Gallus, upon an expedition along the Red Sea coast of Arabia. It has never been easy for generals trained in the school of European warfare to forget their training when thrown into desert warfare and to adopt the methods of the Bedouin. Aelius Gallus was no exception to this rule. In the second year of his campaign he was compelled to use camels for the transportation of drinking water for his troops. The geographer, Strabo, who is our chief source of information, was a friend of Gallus and an ardent defender of his memory. Strabo attributes this necessity to the malignity of the Arab guides of Gallus. Friendship has blinded him to the fact that the information service of Gallus was singularly inadequate for the difficult task which he had undertaken. Once disembarked upon land, his primary need was a service of supply by means of camels.

To sum up the results thus far attained: By 600 B. C. three new motive factors had come into the cultural areas about the eastern Mediterranean which contributed to the development of travel and transport by land. These were: the horse, the mule, and the camel, with the restriction to be observed that the horse was not used except for rapid communication and rapid travel.

Good roads are needed in order to take the best advantage of the superior speed of the horse. The building and maintenance of good highways, covering and joining together distant stretches of territory, are generally attributed to the Persians. The first official postal system based upon the speed of horses used in relays over good roads, if it was not taken over by them from the Assyrians, must also be ascribed to the Persians. Rapid dispatch of official communications was made possible over the roads perfected by Darius I. Herodotus has given us a somewhat rough and ready sketch of the system as it operated in his time in Persia. According to Xenophon, as well as Herodotus, the stations were established at intervals determined by the distance to be covered by a running horse in a day. At these points relays of horses were placed. The resultant rapidity of official communication would be at the gait of a highly bred horse at his best speed over a day's stretch. If necessity urged, as Xenophon has stated, a night re-

lay could be added to that by day. The chief political result of this increase in speed lay in the greater possibility of centralization of administrative power. To this result we must ascribe, in part, the compactness and the endurance which characterized the Persian Empire in the face of its heterogenous composition and its sprawling length from east to west. This government postal service, as developed in Western Asia, went over directly to Alexander and his successors, the Seleucids. A papyrus fragment of the time of Ptolemy II out of a daybook kept at a post station, located on the Nile somewhere in Middle Egypt, has come down to us, published by Grenfell and Hunt as Hibeh Papyrus, no. 110 *verso*. It is scarcely possible to reject the conclusion that the Ptolemaic postal system was the direct continuation of an express post established in Egypt under Persian rule. Because of the greater speed in communication attainable by land over that by water, it was organized as a highway express by ridden horses, not as a mail-boat system. It was entirely devoted to the official service. In the station-master's daybook information was noted down as to the time at which letters or rolls arrived, from what carrier received, number of rolls and number of letters, name of addressee, direction from which they came (whether from north or south), and name of carrier who received them for further transport. In a general way, therefore, the system corresponded to our registered letter delivery. A German scholar named Preisigke has further established a strong probability that the system worked upon a definite schedule, of four daily transfers at this particular station. One post traveling from south to north arrived in the morning; at midday one from north to south; in the evening one in each direction. He has further drawn the conclusion that the relays were based upon a six-hour journey for horse and rider.

From letters and documents which passed through the office of an astute Carian Greek named Zenon, supplemented by other documents of the period, one might paint a series of pictures showing the surprising facility of travel to and fro, by land and by sea, in and about the land of Egypt in the third century B. C. This picture might be made rich in its details; and it would not

be devoid of social and economic interest. From all points of the Greek *oikoumene*, men of adventurous spirit flocked into Egypt. Scholars, poets, artists were among these; but chiefly they were men whose ambition was to get on financially. From Caunus in Caria came the relatives and friends of Zenon. From the Thracian seaboard Greeks came in great numbers, from the towns of lower Asia Minor, from Cyrene, some even from Sicily. Men came on diplomatic mission to the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus from the distant Bosporan kingdom in lower Russia and from Argos and were duly entertained by visits to the sights of ancient Egypt and the up-to-date wonders of the Greco-Egyptian economic civilization of the day. On Mesore 1st (the 21st of September), 254 B. C., Apollonius, the Treasurer of Egypt, wrote a letter in haste to Zenon. Zenon received the letter upon the next day and was careful to note the exact time of its receipt in his docket upon the front of the letter which bore the address. The docket reads: "Year 32. Mesore 2d. Apollonius. 10th hour. Regarding the vehicles for the ambassadors from Paerisades and for the Argive envoys." On no other one of the documents or letters received by Zenon have I been able to find a similar notation of the exact hour of receipt of any letter. I am persuaded that in this particular missive, published in 1927 by H. Idris Bell, of the British Museum, we have an actual original letter of 254 B. C., which traveled from Alexandria to Philadelphia in the Fayum by the Ptolemaic official express mail. The content of the letter gives a clear idea of the forms of travel by land: of important personages, by chariot; of their retinue, by less pretentious types of wheeled vehicles. The baggage was carried on pack mules. The visitors were presumably coming from Alexandria, by Nile boats and by canal, to a canal port in the Fayum called Ptolemais. The letter reads:

Apollonius to Zenon greeting. As soon as you may have read the letter, send to Ptolemais the chariots and the other carriages and the pack mules for the ambassadors of Paerisades and the envoys from Argos whom the king has sent to see the sights of the Arisinoite nome; and see to it that the vehicles do not come too late for their need. For at the

time of writing you they had already started up the river. Farewell.  
Year 32, Panemus 26th, Mesore 1st.

Upon the general model of the government postal service described above, Augustus Caesar established the *cursus publicus* of his Roman imperial organization. A report made by a Chinese ambassador who was sent into the Roman Empire at the end of the first century after Christ gives us an impression of its efficiency. The condition of the roads and the milestones and the spacing of the postal stations and inns attracted his admiring attention.

From the point of view of motive power all the essential and fundamental elements of the ancient systems of land transport and communication had reached their full development in the Hellenistic period. One other factor tended to facilitate the use of the transportation means then existing. This resulted from the contribution made by the Greeks to the science of surveying. From a statement made by the geographer Strabo we conclude that the chart of Asia drawn by Eratosthenes in the third century B. C., as a part of his new map of the inhabited world, was based upon information furnished by the road-surveyors who accompanied the army of Alexander. The map of the *oikoumene* drawn by Eratosthenes included eight parallels of latitude and seven meridians of longitude. This development in cartography under the hands of Eratosthenes, based upon the work of his two Greek predecessors, Anaximander and Dicaearchus, put into visual form the results of the geographic discoveries of the period of Alexander so that these could be readily comprehended by the layman. It was due to this development of cartography that the use of maps became so important under the Empire. A recent writer goes so far as to affirm that "the Empire governed the world by using them." Recent investigation has made it probable that a large highway map of the Roman Empire was prepared at Rome by order of the Emperor Caracalla at the same time at which the *Forma Urbis* was drawn. In the Roman military service of the Empire Roman army officers of high command were furnished with rough maps of the regions through which they were to lead their troops. This fact has recently become assured by the discovery at Doura, a Ro-



man military post upon the Euphrates River, of a rough map painted on leather, giving certain military stations along a Roman road stretching around the Black Sea and down into Armenia. The distances between the stations are given in *milia*. The map seems to have belonged to some soldier of the Roman troops serving at Doura towards the middle of the third century A. D. Wishing to have a record of his travels with the army, he had obtained permission to copy the stations at which he had stopped from the military maps available in his legion and had used his crudely painted copy as the cover of his dress-parade shield.

We are completely lacking in any precise proof from antiquity as to whether such highway maps, with indications of the distances between important stations, were made available for the use of private persons in their commercial travels by land. Maps were in use in the schools — of that we are certain. For trade voyages in distant waters, pilots' guides were surely compiled in the first century after Christ. But by land the comprehensive system of Roman milestones within the bounds of the Empire and the clearly marked character of the highways may well have sufficed for all practical purposes.

One other factor of inland transport and travel was of vital importance in ancient economic life in those areas where geographic conditions permitted its application, namely, river and canal traffic. In the basins of the Nile and the Euphrates and Tigris the productivity of the land made arable by silt deposits was dependent solely upon the rivers and the use of their waters by irrigation systems. What the rivers and the irrigation canals produced, they bore patiently and easily upon their backs to distant destinations. In the early days of Sumerian-Babylonian and Assyrian development, down to the time of Persian highway construction, and throughout the Pharaonic period in Egypt, the importance of the inland waterways cannot be overestimated. In the consideration of this subject it must be noted that, under a modern computation of cost of ancient water transportation, in both of these areas it would be exceedingly low, because the original expenditure for construction would be budgeted against ag-

ricultural production rather than against transportation. The lower cost of water transport of goods in Egypt over land transport, even under the developed system of roads which existed under the rule of Ptolemies and the Romans, was still marked: and the officials were completely conscious of it. An official letter of the third century B. C. deals with the arrest, in Egypt, of two ship carpenters who had been assigned to the task of putting into condition some freight boats. The boats in question were to be used in the transport of government grain. An official wrote that the chief of police should be ordered to release the two men. Otherwise, he says, it might be necessary to transport the grain by land; and he points out that the cost would be five drachmas dearer by land for each unit of 100 artabas. The lack of a date on this document makes it impossible to reckon the difference in exact percentage. It is safe, however, to assume that it was five per cent or somewhat below that. Certainly it was not higher.

The lack of development of river traffic and canal construction among the Greeks is readily explained by a glance at the map of the Greek Peninsula. In the peninsula itself there are few important navigable rivers. In compensation nature had provided Greece with numerous bays which cut deeply into the land, furnishing access both east and west and north and south into the country and obviating in large measure the necessity of canal-building. From north to south along the eastern coast the Euripus furnished a protected waterway for shipping which passed between Euboea and the mainland. This was the regular route of the traffic from the south to Thracian lands. Of still greater importance was the complete intersection of the middle of the peninsula from east to west, except for a distance of four miles, by the Gulf of Corinth and the Saronic Gulf. Ancient schemes and attempts to cut a canal through the isthmus, planned by Periander of Corinth, by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and by Julius Caesar, and actually begun by Nero, did not succeed. This important lack of the best means of obviating the long and dangerous journey around the Peloponnese was partially met in antiquity by the building of the *diolkos*, a system, presumably of wooden grooves, by which

freight vessels of lesser tonnage could be effectually portaged across. It was even used at times for the portage of ships of war by the Greeks and Macedonians, but always for the lighter vessels. An inscription, found a short time ago in the American excavations at Corinth, gives the information that a Roman general of the late Republic again used it for the transport across the Isthmus of warships; but the information which is contained in the inscription implies that, in this case, fairly large vessels were thus moved. The assumption that it was in constant use for small freighters, at least into the imperial period, is a safe one.

The question of the direct connection, by waterway and by land routes, of the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea was of vital importance to the trade of Egypt at all times. No one of the Hellenistic-Macedonian dynasties showed so marked and conscious an interest in trade as the Ptolemies. Among the Ptolemies it was Philadelphus who displayed the most intelligent activity in this field. He rebuilt the canal, made by Darius the Persian, which connected the Bitter Lake, and so the Red Sea, with a Nile canal, thus establishing direct communication by water between Mediterranean, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean. He established a new land route from Coptos, in Upper Egypt, to the harbor of Berenice on the Red Sea. Along this desert route stations were constructed at regular distances, with equipment for travelers and for the care of camels. The importance of these two routes is carried beyond the scope of this study by their connection, after 100 B. C., with the discovery of the seasonal wind, blowing to and from India with unchanging regularity in six-month periods. Upon the combination of these three factors the trade of the Roman Empire with India and China assumed the proportions which are manifest in isolated statements of Strabo and throughout the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.

The Roman emperors developed, extended, and perfected the road system which their forefathers of the Republic had competently begun in Italy and in the early provinces adjacent to Italy. In like manner they were responsible for great projects, sometimes for great accomplishments, in the development of inland

waterways. In some cases these were designed to furnish artificial outlets for rivers which constantly silted at their natural mouths. In other places they were clearly designed to furnish complete transportation between distant places by water. Augustus, Nero, and Trajan, insofar as information has come down from antiquity, showed the greatest interest in such projects.

As might be expected, the plans ascribed to Nero's principate were more grandiose than practical, and hence came to nothing. Of the numerous schemes of this kind entertained by Trajan, his reconstruction of the Nile-Red Sea water route was successful. The canal was still navigable, during high Nile, in A. D. 710 and still bore the name of the "Waters of Trajan."

The essential elements in the problem of successful transportation may be reduced, perhaps, to two items. Stated in non-technical language, these are: time and capacity. The object of those who directed transportation efforts, in any such civilized community as that of the Roman Empire, must always have been to reduce the one (time) and increase the other (capacity). They must have endeavored to bridge the space between production and consumption in the shortest possible space of time, as any other directors of transport must do. They must have sought to increase the carrying capacity of each motor unit to the utmost. In judging of the services of the government of the Roman Empire it is essential to keep these problems in mind. Sufficient praise has already been accorded to the imperial government of the Roman world for its energy in perfecting and extending the operation of existing and known transportation and communication factors, within, and even beyond, the bounds of its immediate societal obligations. Too little attention has been given to the *difficulties* involved in the transportation problems of the Empire. In this respect two important facts must be faced. The first is that the sources of raw materials used in the cultural services of the Empire covered three of the world's six continents. The second is the fact, already pointed out, that all of the motive forces which antiquity could, or did, contribute to the solution of its great transportation task, had already been supplied. No addition-

al force which was basically new could be evolved by the Roman Empire. Nor was any new force brought in until in recent times when steam, electricity, and gas were applied as motor forces to vehicles in the transport of goods.

If we grant that the Roman imperial rulers and their helpers did well in the matter of perfecting the existing agencies, the one remaining question is: What steps did they take to the end of controlling and organizing the service of supplies of their great dominion? The answer to this would lead into the long and difficult discussion of the growing tendency of the imperial government to take over the control of the transportation agencies of its time. The proper approach to the problem lies in the determination of the difficulties involved. These lay primarily in the urban character of the Greco-Roman world. The difficulty of feeding the cities was constant, paramount, and never overcome. The solution which the Roman government was forced, by gradual steps, to adopt was that of bringing under its control, in *liturgical* (*i. e.* compulsory) services, most of the transportation organizations, by land and by water. The service of transport finally became a hereditary obligation upon those engaged in it. The eventual result was bad; but the effort to meet the problem was certainly necessary and praiseworthy. Accepting the viewpoint that the Roman emperors faced their difficulties, on the whole, with an honest and sincere desire to overcome them to the public advantage, it is particularly in the field of transportation that one is forced back upon the conclusion that the building of a world empire by the Caesars came too early. In other words, it seems to have been beyond the capacity of any large centralized unit, under the condition of a highly elaborate and expanding culture such as the Roman Empire presented, to meet its own economic problems. From this point of view the development of smaller national units of government in the Middle Ages was historically logical and necessary.

## SOME LATIN WRITERS OF SPAIN <sup>1</sup>

By CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW  
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The peninsula of Spain was successively colonized and conquered by Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Roman. For six centuries it enjoyed the benefits of Roman civilization and culture before the Vandals, the Suevi, the Visigoths, and the Moors, each in their turn, dominated the land and impressed upon it characteristic features of their own manner of life.

By the terms of the treaty which Scipio made with Carthage at the close of the Second Punic War in 201 B.C. Rome became the recognized mistress of the western Mediterranean, and the territory of Spain was divided into the two new Roman provinces of Hither and Farther Spain. From this beginning the rule of the Romans continued until the fifth century A.D., when Euric the Visigoth drove out the remaining Roman garrisons and added this land to his dominions in France.

As a consequence of their six hundred years' sway, there was left, at the coming of the Goths, a fully developed municipal system, a high degree of perfection in the arts (and notably in architecture), the Roman law, the Christian religion, and a common speech — for the Latin language was spoken throughout the peninsula, except in the Basque province.

It is interesting to note that in the first century of the Christian Era a Spanish school of writers stands preëminent in the literary history of the Western World, following a North Italian group of Latin authors and succeeded in its turn by the influence of Africa in the second century and that of Gaul (largely through her rhetorical schools) in the third and fourth centuries. The

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Foreign Language Section of The Colorado Education Association at Pueblo, Colo., Nov. 9, 1928.



provinces made to the Empire this cultural return in addition to their more generally recognized services in war and in commerce.<sup>2</sup> Spain contributed to Rome the majority of the most noted Latin writers of the Silver Age in her literature.

Martial, the master of the epigram, neatly includes a group of his literary countrymen in a single stanza celebrating the Spanish writers of the early Empire:

Duosque Senecas unicumque Lucanum  
 Facunda loquitur Corduba;  
 Gaudent iocosae Canio suo Gades,  
 Emerita Deciano meo.  
 Te, Liciniane, gloriabitur nostra,  
 Nec me tacebit Bilbilis (I, 61, 7-12)—

two Senecas, the one and only Lucan, Canius Rufus, Decianus, Valerius Licinianus, and Martial himself. We must revise this list somewhat in selecting the most representative writers. Three of them, fellow members of a kind of poets' club at Rome, may be dismissed with a word, leaving for further consideration only the family of the Senecas and Martial. To these must be added M. Porcius Latro, who was one of the founders of scholastic rhetoric; Pomponius Mela, the geographer; Columella, the agriculturist; and Quintilian, the professor of education.

Annaeus Seneca (about 55 B.C. — about A.D. 41), commonly known as Seneca the elder, or Seneca Rhetor, to distinguish him from his more famous son, the philosopher, was a native of Corduba but spent most of his life in Rome. He was an austere man, a typical Roman of the old type, and came of a wealthy equestrian family. He married in Corduba a lady of high station named Helvia. Their three sons were M. Annaeus Novatus, L. Annaeus Seneca, of whom we have yet to speak, and M. Annaeus Mela, the father of the poet Lucan. The eldest son was adopted by Seneca's friend Iunius Gallio and took the name of his adoptive father. He was the governor or proconsul of Achaea before whom the apostle Paul was brought for trial (*Acts* XVIII, 12-17).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Frederick W. Shipley, "Race Mixture and Literary Genius in the Roman Provinces," *Washington University Studies*, Humanistic Series, IX (1922), 99-119.

The father of this distinguished family, Seneca the Elder, wrote a book dedicated to his three sons, yet intended for a larger reading public — of which we today are a part (*Controversiae* I, *praef.* 10). This work, written in his old age, constitutes our chief source of information for the history of Roman rhetoric. Its chief interest is due to the fact that the author has undertaken to reproduce verbatim the arguments and discussions of many illustrious rhetoricians whom he has heard, thus rescuing distinguished names from oblivion. His book has a somewhat unusual title: *Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae, Divisiones, Colores Controversiarum et Suasoriarum*.

*Suasoria* and *Controversia* are the Latin names for the two most advanced exercises of the higher training in rhetoric. The *suasoria* was intended to prepare for deliberative oratory; the *controversia* — a more difficult scholastic drill — for pleading in the law courts. The *sententiae* are the statements of the question by specimens from various orators. The *divisiones* are the different subdivisions or analyses by these authors. The *colores* are the rhetorical artifices, so to speak, putting in as favorable a light as possible the unfavorable points. The title of the book may be translated: "Choice sayings, distributions of heads, and palliatives from the works of orators and rhetoricians."<sup>3</sup> Seneca's ideal in literature was Cicero.

The value of the book may perhaps best be illustrated by a quotation dealing with that Porcius Latro who has already been mentioned as one of the founders of scholastic rhetoric. He, too, was a Spaniard and a close friend of the writer. We may note in passing that the poet Ovid was one of Latro's pupils.<sup>4</sup>

Seneca says of his friend Porcius Latro:<sup>4</sup>

When he had set himself to writing, days were joined to nights; and without cessation he used to exert himself severely and never let up unless his strength failed. On the other hand, when he had relaxed he would give himself over to all frivolity, to all pleasantries. Again, when he had betaken himself to the woods and the mountains, he rivalled the

<sup>3</sup> W. C. Summers, *The Silver Age of Latin Literature*: London, Methuen (1920), 257.

<sup>4</sup> Seneca, *Controversiae* II, 10, 8, and I, *praef.* 14 f.

very natives of the woods and the mountains, rough country folk though they were, in his endurance of hardships and in his skill in hunting. He would become so enamored of this manner of life that he could scarcely be dragged back to his former habits. Yet, when he had taken himself in hand and withdrawn from this seductive leisure, he would devote himself to study with such vim that he seemed not only to have lost nothing but actually to have gained much by idleness. Indeed it is advantageous to anyone to relax the mind occasionally; for its vigor is enhanced by rest, and all that melancholy which is induced by continued indulgence in unbroken study is dispelled by the gayety of a holiday. But to no one else was a change more evidently of value.

Seneca says further, in commenting upon his friend's ability as a speaker:

He had a memory that was, I admit, naturally good, but was greatly improved by training. He never re-read for the purpose of learning by heart anything he intended to say: he had committed it to memory when he had written it. This may appear the more remarkable in his case because he never used to write slowly and laboriously, but with almost the same facility with which he spoke. . . . He used to deliver what he had thought out in such a fashion that his memory never failed him in any single word (*ibid.* 17-19).

And then Seneca remarks, speaking directly to his three sons, to whom the book, it will be remembered, is dedicated:

I see, my boys, that you are unduly impressed by this one gift of his; I want you to admire other traits in him; this, which seems to you so important, can be acquired by no great effort.

But we must pass on to a consideration of some of the other important writers of Spain. The elder Seneca's more famous son and namesake, Seneca the philosopher, was born at Corduba about 4 B.C. and committed suicide — by imperial request — in A.D. 65. His life thus overlaps the earthly existence of Jesus of Nazareth. The early Christians, finding in Seneca a spirit kindred to their own, believed that he was familiar with the doctrines of their church. But the still extant correspondence, consisting of fourteen letters long believed to be authentic epistles passing between Seneca and St. Paul, is now regarded as spurious.

Seneca has won well-deserved fame as a leading representative of Roman Stoicism, and he is the creator of the Latin philosoph-

ical essay. But he is an extraordinarily prolific writer, one of the most voluminous of the authors whose works have come down to us from classical antiquity. While his interests lie mainly in the field of moral philosophy he is, upon occasion, a physicist, a writer of Menippean satire, and the author of the only Latin tragedies that have survived until the present day.

With almost prophetic vision Seneca declares:<sup>5</sup>

A day will come when long-continued research will bring to light all that now is hidden . . . when our descendants will marvel at our ignorance of things so obvious. . . . Let us be content with what we can discover, and allow posterity in its turn to contribute towards the knowledge of truth.

In the *Apocolocyntosis* — not the deification but the “squashification” of the Emperor Claudius, he begins:

I wish to record the proceedings in heaven on October 13th in the new year which opens this fortunate era. No concession is to be made to malice or favour. It's the simple truth.<sup>6</sup>

Seneca the Stoic speaks in character at the close of his final letter to Lucilius:

I shall give you in brief a rule whereby to measure yourself, whereby to gauge your development: in that day you will come to your own, when you realize that the successful are of all men most miserable (translated by Duff, 234).

Of M. Annaeus Mela — the elder Seneca's third son — we remember chiefly the fact that he was the father of the poet Lucan.

M. Annaeus Lucanus (A.D. 39-65) was also born at the family home in Corduba and, like his grandfather and his distinguished uncle, came early to the world's metropolis. His father brought him to Rome as an infant of eight months. He was a precocious child and appeared at a public literary festival, the *Neronia*, at the age of twenty-one. A few years later he was ordered to die in consequence of his participation in Piso's conspiracy against the Emperor Nero.

Lucan's long poem on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey,

<sup>5</sup> *Naturales Quaestiones* VII, 25, 4 and 7 (translated by Summers, 208).

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by J. Wright Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*: New York, Scribner's (1927), 237.

commonly referred to by the title *Pharsalia*, is an epic in ten books, the last of which is incomplete. Quintilian's familiar dictum (*Institutio Oratoria* x, I, 90), *Magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus*, repeated by succeeding writers, has clung to Lucan's memory: "more a rhetorician than a poet."

The geographer, Pomponius Mela, was a native of Tingentera in Spain. His contribution to literature is the work entitled *De Chorographia*, which is valuable chiefly as one of the earliest extant treatises on ancient geography. It is based on good authorities and is written in the best rhetorical style of his day. Of Spain he says that it "abounds in men, horses, and many metals, and is so fertile that if anywhere from want of water it is exhausted or unlike itself, it grows flax or esparto grass."<sup>7</sup>

Columella was a native of Gades and a contemporary of the younger Seneca. He was a great admirer of the simpler and more dignified style of the Roman writers of the Augustian Age; and though his theme is a technical one, agriculture, his work has real literary merit and is not a mere scientific treatise. His twelve books entitled *De Re Rustica* afford us authentic information on the best farming practice of the early Roman Empire. Columella declares in the preface to his first book that agriculture is the only strictly honorable method of making money: *Nam cetera diversa et quasi repugnantia dissident a iustitia . . . superest . . . unum genus liberale et ingenuum rei familiaris augendae, quod ex agricolatione contingit*. Vergil, in his *Georgics* (iv, 148), after briefly touching upon the topic of gardening, specifically leaves this theme for more detailed treatment by succeeding writers: *Praetereo, atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo*. Columella regards this as his cue, and in all modesty attempts the task of composing in hexameters a fifth *Georgic* — acceptable but uninspired.

We come now to two great Roman writers of the Silver Age who were natives of northern Spain: Quintilian of Calagurris (Calahorra) on the Ebro and Martial of Bilbilis (now Calatayud).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire*: Oxford, B. H. Blackwell (1914), 165.

Martial (whose name commemorates the fact that he was born on the first day of the month sacred to Mars — our March) left the land of his birth in A.D. 64, spent a full generation in Rome and then returned to Spain to pass his declining years amid old memories. In these latter days he writes to his friend, the Roman poet Juvenal:<sup>8</sup>

Mayhap, my Juvenal, your feet  
 Stray down some noisy Roman street,  
 While after many years of Rome  
 I have regain'd my Spanish home.  
 Bilbilis, rich in steel and gold,  
 Makes me a rustic as of old.  
 With easy-going toil at will  
 Estates of uncouth name I till.  
 Outrageous lengths of sleep I take  
 And oft refuse at nine to wake.  
 I pay myself nor more nor less  
 For thirty years of wakefulness!  
 No fine clothes here, but batter'd dress,  
 The first that comes, snatched from a press.  
 I rise to find a hearth ablaze  
 With oak the nearest wood purveys.  
 This is a life of jollity:  
 So shall I die contentedly.

A wit, a man of real genius and poetic ability but poor, he lived in a time when literature was not a profession. Hence he was forced into the position of a client — a dependant. His writings are branded with the two indelible traits perhaps inseparable from the work of one who is thus handicapped: flattery and indecency. He must eulogize the emperor in order to live. He must hold the attention of the rabble in order to be popular. Yet, in all fairness, it must be admitted that Martial succeeds in his avowed purpose of holding a mirror up to life.<sup>9</sup> The Younger Pliny (*Epist.* III, 21) refers as follows to his death:

*Audio Valerium Martialem decessisse et moleste fero. Erat*

<sup>8</sup> *Epigrammata* XII, 18. The translation is by J. Wright Duff, *The Writers of Rome*: London, Oxford University Press (1923), 93.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Spaeth, "Martial Looks at his World," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, XXIV (1929), 361-73.



*homo ingeniosus acutus acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis nec candoris minus.* Professor Westcott, in his edition of *Selections from Pliny's Letters*<sup>10</sup> renders the characterizing words by "able, sagacious, subtle; wit . . . satire . . . frankness"; and J. W. Mackail<sup>10</sup> has well said that "the 'candour' noted in him by Pliny is simply that of a sheet of paper which is indifferent to what is written upon it, fair or foul. He may claim the merit — nor is it an inconsiderable one — of being totally free from pretence."

His epigrams contain many a line still worthy of quotation:

*Non est, crede mihi, sapientis dicere 'Vivam';  
Sera nimis vita est crastina: vive hodie* (I, 15, 11 f).

And again:

*Non est vivere sed valere vita* (VI, 70, 15).

Duff has well summarized Martial's merit as a writer; he says<sup>11</sup>:

It would be hard to name a phase of Roman life which he does not depict with graphic power. All classes from emperor and imperial official down to itinerant match-sellers pass before us: dandy, beggar, patron, client, schoolmaster, doctor, lawyer, inn-keeper, reciter, slave — we can see them all; black-hearted slanderers, foul-minded and foul-tongued voluptuaries, but also genial and loyal friends; joys and sorrows; meanness and vice, but also virtues; the details of a Roman day, work, meals, baths, amusements, and the items of a dinner; streets and buildings; the rapture of a change to seaside or country. Yet, most of all, it is as the epigrammatist that he is remembered.

Petronius, social secretary and judge of etiquette for the Emperor Nero, is referred to by the great historian Tacitus under the title *elegantiae arbiter* (*Annals* xvi, 18 f). Quintilian, the last and in many respects the greatest of the Spanish group of writers of the Silver Age might appropriately be termed *arbiter litterarum* of his day and age. Born in Spain and educated at Rome, Quintilian returned to his native land and town to become a teacher of rhetoric. But through his friendship with Servius Sulpicius Galba, the Roman governor of Spain, Quintilian was appointed

<sup>10</sup> Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1899), 192; and *Latin Literature*: New York, Scribner's (1909), 194.

<sup>11</sup> *The Writers of Rome*, 91.

public teacher of rhetoric at Rome when Galba became emperor. He thus occupied what may be described as the first endowed Chair of Education of which we have record. Of the science of education he says: "It is a mighty subject with many ramifications: fresh points come up almost every day, and the last word on it will never be pronounced."<sup>12</sup> After twenty years' service as state professor of eloquence, Quintilian resigned in order to devote his entire time to the writing of his masterpiece, the *Institutio Oratoria*. The work deals with the education of the future orator. But as has already been indicated, Quintilian was more than a teacher, great as were his services in this field. He was a distinguished critic and the acknowledged leader of literary taste at Rome. Above all he was a serious-minded, honorable gentleman, living in an age of demoralization and lowered standards of life and of letters.

His great work is still of supreme interest and importance. Students of education are, of course, familiar with Quintilian's treatment, in Book I, of the theme of the preliminary education of children. The last book (XII) with its delineation of the higher education of mature minds and a picture of the finished orator is perhaps equally well known. But no one who is at all interested in classical literature can afford to overlook the critical outline of ancient literature from the beginning to his own time, which Quintilian introduces in connection with the topic of the proper reading for one who plans to become an orator (x, 1). In this survey of the great writers of Greece and of Rome, systematically considered in each instance under the four general categories of poetry, history, oratory, and philosophy, we find an invaluable example of literary criticism by an expert. It may be of interest to turn to his judgment of the philosopher Seneca; he says (x, 1, 125-31):

I have purposely postponed consideration of Seneca in connection with every type of eloquence on account of a prevalent belief (wrongfully spread abroad about me) to the effect that I am supposed to condemn him and to dislike him as well. This opinion has resulted from the fact that I am striving to recall to stricter standards a style of literary com-

<sup>12</sup> Summers, 273. He is translating *Institutio Oratoria* II, 13, 17.

position that is objectionable and is marred by faults of all kinds. And then, too, he is practically the only writer in the hands of the young. I was not, as a matter of fact, trying to displace him entirely, but I could not allow him to be preferred to better authors whom he had not ceased to assail. For he was conscious of his own dissimilarity of style and distrusted his ability to please by his writings those who liked the other type. Furthermore, they admired him more than they imitated him, and fell as far short of his achievement as he had descended from the classics. For it would be desirable that they should be his equals or at least should closely resemble him. But he pleased them because of his faults alone, and each set himself to accomplish what he could; then when each boasted that he was writing in the same style it brought discredit on Seneca. Besides he possessed many great virtues: a ready and copious flow of ideas, great concentration, a wide general knowledge (wherein, however, he was sometimes led astray by those to whom he assigned topics for investigation). For he dealt with practically the entire range of subject-matter: orations and poems and letters and dialogues of his are extant. In philosophy he was not very critical; yet he was a zealous censurer of vice. There are in his writings many famous sayings, many things besides worth reading on moral grounds, but many passages objectionable in manner of expression and the more pernicious because they abound in attractive faults. One might wish that he had spoken with his own natural ability but in accordance with another's taste. For if he had despised the florid, affected style, if he had not been enamored of the imperfect, if he had not admired everything he wrote, if he had not weakened the force of his matter by striving after epigrammatic brevity, he would have won approval rather by common consent of the learned than by the ill-considered enthusiasm of mere boys. But even so he should be read by those who have had their training and are sufficiently established in a more serious style — if for no other reason than because he affords an opportunity for the exercise of independent judgment for or against him. For, as I have said, there is in his writings much that is worthy of approval, much that is worthy even of admiration — if only one is careful to make a selection. Would he had done so himself! For his intellectual gifts were worthy of a desire on his part to put them to some better use: what he desired he accomplished.

So speaks the great Roman literary critic, Quintilian.

There is another literary epoch in which Spain produces distinguished men of letters whose vehicle of expression is the tongue of the ancient Romans. From the middle of the fourth century of our era until the time of the Arab invasions we find

Spanish authors producing famous works of Christian Latin Literature. Juvenius, Prudentius (in whom Christian Latin Poetry reaches its full development), Priscillian, the historian Orosius, Isidore of Seville (the leading transmitter of knowledge in the seventh century), and his contemporary, John of Biclarum — these are the outstanding names. But even a brief appraisal of their works and influence would provide material for a separate paper equal in length to this. Nor should we forget that the primary significance of Spain in the Middle Ages, so far as the history of literature is concerned, consists in the transmission of the ancient classics and of the Church Fathers to the modern world.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. especially Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*: München, Beck (1911), 168 f.

## CAESAR AND THE BOY OF TODAY

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By FANNY HOWELL  
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The setting for our story is almost any Latin classroom in the Middle West. The time is September or February as school curricula and textbooks dictate. The characters are *Discipulus Americanus*, C. J. Caesar, as one of my young hopefuls has dubbed him in a spirit not altogether disrespectful, and a teacher who is the mutual friend of both. For weeks these are to meet in daily conference, to fight again the thrilling battles with the Helvetians and Nervii, to bridge the Rhine, to outwit the sea-going Veneti, to cross the Channel and strike terror into the hearts of the savage Britons, and finally to force the brave Vercingetorix from his stronghold at Alesia and carry him back to Rome, a tribute to the genius of Caesar and the efficacy of the Roman eagles.

Let us look briefly at our three characters. The boy is almost any American sophomore. He is strong, active, eager for adventure, impatient of delay, an athlete, member of the football team. He is of average ability, and he is a real boy with a love for fun and mischief, but with a tendency to hero worship. Just now his favorite book is *We*, and he longs for the time when he may forsake the slow-moing, earth-crawling Ford and sail out into the uncharted air, a second Lindbergh. He has an outward contempt for poetry and painting, but an ardent admiration for men who dare and do! He has a very keen sense of fairness, and he knows that there are rules in every game and that the referee must be respected. Yet he chafes under restraint, and perhaps his elders have felt cause for criticizing him a great deal for banging doors, strewing his belongings from attic to cellar, and systematically exceeding the speed limit.

The teacher is an average teacher. She has had the prescribed

amount of training and a certain amount of experience. She has read and still reads as widely as her numerous classes, sponsorships, committees, study halls, and other duties allow her to do. But since we are to suppose her to be in some degree successful, she has a large and growing fund of patience, a retentive memory which carries her back to the time when she also was fifteen years of age; and above all she knows and admires Caesar, and does not regard every boy as one of Satan's unaccountables!

The third of this triumvirate is the mighty Julius who has been waiting lo, these many years for this very moment when young America shall come to know him.

There was a time when the teacher had a very helpful ally in Ancient History; but in many of our high schools a course in general history has been substituted, and in the space of five, six, or nine months the student is whirled along from the prehistoric age to our own times at such a rate that he scarcely remembers the heroes of Greece and Rome.

Certain traditional prejudices are still unstifled, and it may be that, when our young friend scans the first line of the *Commentaries*, he feels with the inimitable O. Henry that "We'll need all of our gall to devise means to tree them parties!"

On the first day we take our aeroplane, in lieu of the old-time magic carpet, and fly away across the seas and back over the centuries to the land of the Belgians, Gauls, and Aquitanians. We construct our stage and begin to people it. Caesar's evident admiration for the fearlessness and prowess of the Belgians strikes the first responsive chord, for Caesar comments favorably upon the fact that traders do not bring in luxuries "which have to do with weakening courage." Our boy decides that training in Caesar's day was as essential as it is today and that perhaps Caesar would have made a good football coach. This opinion grows as time goes by.

That Caesar wastes no time in useless experimenting makes a strong appeal. He plans his campaign, marshalls his forces, and arrives at Geneva before the astounded Helvetians have grasped the idea of his presence; the bridge is down and the ramparts are



up and the way is blocked. Just so the basketball captain must think, signal, and act; and as Caesar hurries to Ocelum and thence around to head off the slow-moving emigrant train, so the efficient head of the team must see that his opponents are blocked and guarded and kept from attaining their goal.

Caesar's resourcefulness at all times excites the admiration of the boy, also his thoroughness. It was not too much trouble for Caesar to set up a strong, well-defended camp each night; and the great mind that gave to every man his little task and at the same time kept track of it all, is just the kind of mind that the modern boy would like to have.

A great leader may be judged by the attitude of his associates toward him, and Caesar seems to have been a source of great inspiration to his soldiers. When the Romans met the Nervii and that horrible confusion occurred, Caesar did not hesitate to thrust himself into the front of the fight, to take the sword and lead the charge. When the Roman ships engaged those of the Veneti off the coast of Brittany, the fact that Caesar was somewhere on one of the headlands watching made each soldier resolve to do his best in the sight of his commander. This does not seem to have been because of cringing fear, but because of the marvelous personality of the man and the wondrous faith that he had in each and everyone of his men.

Magnanimity was another of his outstanding traits as illustrated by the case of the hot-headed, treacherous Dumnorix. He also shows no inclination to comment long on the mistakes of others, for while he records the incident when Publius Considius spoiled what had seemed to be a very clever maneuver, he does not dwell long upon it.

Caesar's narrative is neither dull nor monotonous to the modern boy. It moves along with speed and conciseness, and there are none of what many of our high-school pupils call tiresome long-drawn-out descriptions. Here and there Caesar even shows an almost boyish interest in things — for instance his account of the queer thorny hedge fortifications of the Nervii in which one might stick as did the fabled princes who wanted to rescue the Sleeping

Beauty. He points out the rather ridiculous picture of the pygmy Romans moving the tall towers toward the stronghold of the Atuatuci, and admits that it was funny but demonstrates to his satisfaction and the discomfiture of the enemy that "he who laughs last laughs best."

No boy can fail to enjoy bridging the Rhine with Caesar if he is allowed to build his own bridge — though he has no desire to destroy it as Caesar did, to emphasize the greatness of Rome.

The building of the fleet at the mouth of the Loire river and the clever devices which Caesar used for overcoming the disadvantages he had to face on the unknown ocean all come in for their share of approval — and if Caesar seems quite ruthless in his treatment of the Veneti, the principle of international law and respect for the sanctity of ambassadors is certainly driven home to those who choose to learn.

The siege of Alesia with all of its dramatic possibilities never fails to interest. The fact that Caesar has in Vercingetorix a foe-man worthy of his steel, makes his victory all the more glorious. The elaborate siege works, the efficient scout system, the fact that there is not a false move when but a single one would have spelled disaster, all these help to prove the mastery of one who scorned to be second in Rome. The surrender of Vercingetorix is the crowning touch — although I have known boys who have been inclined to take up cudgels in defense of this bold Gallic chieftain who fought so valiantly and well.

If Caesar had never done anything but conquer Gaul and had left to us his stirring account of it, he would have been worthy of being read by boys the world over. It is a story that appeals to them. They do like to know more about the man Caesar, of course. They thrill at the crossing of the Rubicon, at the triumphal march on Rome, and the subsequent victories at Pharsalus and elsewhere; and they are intensely interested in following the career of the great commander to the fatal Ides of March.

While the minds are busy with the details of the campaign, the hands have not been idle. If the class contains a number of enthusiastic boys and some clever girls, the classroom has begun

to assume the appearance of some ancient battle field or a munitions plant. Catapults and ballistas of various types and sizes threaten destruction to all comers — javelins and swords, shields and helmets adorn the walls, and perhaps a fully equipped Roman camp has come into being, while the wall cupboards exhibit, if not the immortal tenth legion, then at least some of the legionary soldiers, the bulwark of Rome.

Pictures of Caesar, of Rome, of Gaul help to make it all more interesting, and books about Rome and Caesar and his times should be available. Whitehead's *Standard Bearer*<sup>1</sup> is no longer new and, I presume, is known to every teacher of Caesar; and yet I find that it is always new to the boys. I will confess that girls sometimes find it too full of bloody battles. They prefer to read of the horrors of war more slowly.

Tappan's *Story of the Roman People* and Haaren and Poland's *Famous Men of Rome* are easily read and yet wonderfully helpful, and I have found some boys very much fascinated by T. Rice Holmes' *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*. Davis' *A Friend of Caesar* gives a good picture of the life and times of Caesar and most of the members of my classes read it every year.

In the meantime, of course, we must not forget that there are such things as gerunds and gerundives, ablatives absolute and subjunctives. They must be reckoned with and tracked to their lair, but in spite of the fact that the prevailing slogan nowadays seems to be "Just so I get by" and that the bluffer is popular with certain people, most boys are willing to spend time and effort if it seems worthwhile. To master a particularly hard passage is rewarded by the joy of achievement, and we all like to feel that we have learned as a result of real effort.

<sup>1</sup> The bibliographical data concerning the books mentioned in this and the next paragraph are as follows: Albert C. Whitehead, *The Standard Bearer, a Story of Army Life in the Time of Caesar*: Chicago, American Book Co. (1915); Eva M. Tappan, *The Story of the Roman People, an Elementary History of Rome*: Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. (1910); John H. Haaren and A. B. Poland, *Famous Men of Rome*: New York, University Publishing Co. (1904); Thomas Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*<sup>2</sup>: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1911); William Stearns Davis, *A Friend of Caesar, a Tale of the Fall of the Roman Republic*: New York, Macmillan (1900).

The aims in teaching Caesar are threefold, it seems to me : first, to give an increased knowledge of Latin ; second, to promote an acquaintanceship with one of the great men of the ages ; and third, to encourage in those entrusted to us, the traits of industry, efficiency, ingenuity, fairness, coöperation, and leadership. After all, it is the business of every instructor to teach, not Latin or French or English or mathematics, but boys and girls, and to adapt herself and her subject to those who have come to her for instruction.

In the midst of her declensions and conjugations, the Latin teacher cannot disregard the seven cardinal objectives of education ; but through her interpretation of Caesar and his *Commentaries* she certainly must and can find a way to teach a mastery of tools and technique of learning, economic effectiveness, faithful, loyal citizenship, character, health. And if she has taught all these, worthy home membership and a wise expenditure of leisure time will come as a natural result.

## THE "TERENTIAN" COMEDIES OF A TENTH-CENTURY NUN

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Modern discussions of mediaeval drama are very likely to include the name of Hrotsvitha and some mention of her debt to Roman comedy. Creizenach, in the early pages of his *Geschichte des Neuere Dramas*, takes up her plays with special interest because they are the one isolated example of the imitation of Terence in the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Chambers, in his account of the influence of classical drama on the interlude, quotes Dr. Ward's statement that Terence "led a charmed life in the darkest ages of learning," mentions Notker Labeo, who at the beginning of the eleventh century wrote that he had been commissioned to turn the *Andria* into German, and then says, "Not long before, Hrotsvitha, a Benedictine nun of Gandersheim in Saxony, had taken Terence as her model for half a dozen plays in Latin prose, designed to glorify chastity and to celebrate the constancy of the martyrs."<sup>2</sup> And the introductory chapter of C. M. Gayley's *Plays of our Forefathers* contains the sentence: "Terence, the dear delight of the mediaeval monastery, was in the tenth <century> pruned of his pagan charm and naughtiness, and planted out in six persimmon comedies by a Saxon nun of Gandersheim, Hrotsvitha, — comedies of tedious saints and hircine sinners and a stuffy Latin style."<sup>3</sup> In view of such statements as these, it may be worth while to examine the plays of Hrotsvitha, to see just how great her indebtedness to Terence was.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des Neuere Dramas*<sup>2</sup>: Halle, Niemeyer (1911), I, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1903), II, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> New York, Duffield (1907), p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> References in this article are to the Teubner text of Hrotsvitha's works,

A writer of the period in which Hrotsvitha lived could hardly have found a more stimulating environment than the duchy of Saxony.<sup>5</sup> Three famous Ottos of the Saxon line, elected in turn to the headship of the Holy Roman Empire, dreamed of making Germany a world power and reëstablishing the empire of Charlemagne. The marriage of Otto the Great to Adelaide, princess of Burgundy and widow of the king of Italy, broadened the interests of the Saxons and gave a cosmopolitan tone to the capital; scholars from Italy, Ireland, France, and Greece thronged to the imperial court; and monastic and cathedral schools, under the leadership of humanists like Otwin and Bernward, bishops of Hildesheim, amassed libraries, multiplied manuscripts, and handed on to the younger generation the highest ideal of scholarship that they knew.

One of the notable monasteries of this period was Gandersheim, a Benedictine abbey founded about the middle of the ninth century by Duke Luidolf of Saxony and his wife Oda. The duke's own daughter was the first abbess, and for the next two hundred and fifty years most of the abbesses were drawn from the Saxon royal house. The nuns were of gentle birth and delicate breeding. Gerberga, who became abbess some time after 954, was a niece of Otto the Great and a granddaughter of Arnolf, Duke of Bavaria, and during Gerberga's primacy a sister of Otto III took the veil.

About the same time that Gerberga entered the monastery, there came to Gandersheim the lady Hrotsvitha. The first syllable of her name is connected with the modern German *Ruhm*, the

ed. K. Strecker, Leipzig, 1906; there is also an edition by P. Winterfeld in the series *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*: Berlin, Weidmann (1902), which is particularly valuable for the literary parallels cited in the notes. An English version has recently been published under the title, *The Plays of Roswitha*, translated by Christopher St. John: London, Chatto and Windus (1923). M. Manitius's *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*: München, Beck (1911), I, pp. 619-32, gives an admirable summary of the facts of Hrotsvitha's life and a critical estimate of her work. For a full bibliography of recent articles in English, including several translations, see O. R. Kuehne, "Recent Literature Concerning Hrotsvitha," in *Class. Wk.* xx (1927), 149 f.

<sup>5</sup> See the illuminating article by G. R. Coffman, "A New Approach to Mediaeval Latin Drama," in *Mod. Phil.* xxii (1925), 239-71, from which much of the material in this paragraph is drawn.



second with *geschwind*, *Schwindsucht*, and the like; and the whole name means "a mighty shout," — as Hrotsvitha herself suggests when, in the Preface to her plays (p. 113), she speaks of herself as "*Clamor Validus Gandeshemensis*" — a strangely incongruous name for one of her gentle modesty.

All our information about Hrotsvitha comes from dedicatory verses and epistles prefaced to the different sections of her works, and from the internal evidence of the works themselves. From these sources we learn that she was a diligent student, at first under the direction of the nun Rikkardis later as a pupil of Gerberga, who, although Hrotsvitha's junior in age, was her senior in knowledge and passed on to her sister nun the instruction which she herself had received from eminent scholars (*a sapientissimis*, pp. 1 f.), perhaps at the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Hrotsvitha does not mention her textbooks, but the content and diction of her works show that she must have read the *Peristephanon*, or *Book of Martyrs*, of Prudentius, and many other legends of the saints; Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and his treatises on arithmetic and music; some writings of the church fathers; and at least Vergil and Terence of pagan authors.<sup>6</sup> A large part of her time must have been given to composition in verse — an exercise to which the deacon Thangmar gave special attention in the training of Bernward<sup>7</sup> — and the proficiency which she gained shows in the lengthy hexameter and elegiac poems that form a large part of her collected works.

She tried her hand at original composition, secretly at first (*clam cunctis et quasi furtim*, p. 1), for fear that critics, recognizing the crudities of her style, might deter her from writing altogether. The compositions of this early period are in both hexameter and elegiac verse, and comprise a life of the Virgin Mary; an account of the Ascension of the Savior; and six saints' legends, including the story of St. Pelagius of Cordoba, which Hrotsvitha got from eye-witnesses, and the martyrdom of St.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Manitius, *Lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, I, 631 f., and the notes in Winterfeld's edition.

<sup>7</sup> See the section from the life of Bernward paraphrased by Coffman in *Mod. Phil.* xxii (1925), 251.

Agnes, drawn from a biography ascribed to Ambrose. These verses (*carminula*, as the author modestly calls them) were presented to Gerberga with the request that she read and correct them (p. 3):

Et, cum sis certe vario lassata labore,  
 Ludens dignare hos modulos legere,  
 Hanc quoque sordidolam tempta purgare camenam  
 Ac fulcire tui flore magisterii,  
 Quo laudem dominae studium supportet alumnae  
 Doctricique piae carmina discipulae.

Encouraged by the approval of the abbess, Hrotsvitha now turned to an entirely new form of composition. Her motives for this departure are interestingly stated in the Preface to *Liber Secundus* of her works:

There are many Catholics, and we cannot entirely acquit ourselves of the charge, who, attracted by the polished elegance of the style of pagan writers, prefer their works to the holy scriptures. There are others who, although they are deeply attached to the sacred writings and have no liking for most pagan productions, make an exception in favor of the works of Terence, and fascinated by the charm of the manner, risk being corrupted by the wickedness of the matter. Wherefore I, the strong voice of Gandersheim, have not hesitated to imitate in my writing a poet whose works are so widely read, my object being to glorify, within the limits of my poor talent, the laudable chastity of Christian virgins in that same form of composition which has been used to describe the shameless acts of licentious women. . . . If this pious devotion gives satisfaction I shall rejoice; if it does not, either on account of my own worthlessness or of the faults of my unpolished style, I shall still be glad that I made the effort.<sup>8</sup>

Just how extensive her first dramatic attempts were we do not know; but some of her plays must have been circulated among her intimate friends at the monastery and then submitted to certain scholars outside; for an epistle of later date addressed *Ad Quosdam Sapientes Huius Libri Fautores* thanks these scholars most humbly for their commendation of her work (*mei opusculum vilis mulierculae*) and begs them to criticize the compositions which she encloses:

<sup>8</sup> The quotation is from St. John's translation, pp. xxvi-xxviii.

I have been at pains (she concludes), whenever I have been able to pick up some threads and scraps torn from the old mantle of philosophy, to weave them into the stuff of my own book, in the hope that my lowly ignorant effort may gain more acceptance through the introduction of something of a nobler strain. . . I hope you will revise it with the same careful attention that you would give to a work of your own, and that when you have succeeded in bringing it up to the proper standard you will return it to me. (St. John, pp. xxviii-xxx.)

Still later she composed in hexameter verse two long poems on contemporary subjects: an account of the deeds of Otto I, and a history of the monastery of Gandersheim down to the year 919. At what date her death occurred we do not know.

For us, by far the most significant portion of Hrotsvitha's work is the dramas, and these are particularly interesting because, standing as they almost certainly do in order of composition, they give clear indications of the development of her technique. There are six plays altogether (Creizenach suggests that she intended them to be, in number as well as in subject-matter, an "Anti-Terenz"),<sup>9</sup> and the material is in every case drawn from legends of the saints.

The first play of the series offers interesting material for comparative study, since it has come down to us in two other mediaeval versions, one of which is practically contemporary with Hrotsvitha herself: a life of St. Constantia (or Constantina) in a Visigothic manuscript of the eleventh century,<sup>10</sup> and the story of St. John and St. Paul, as related in *The Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1245).<sup>11</sup> These two versions agree in the main outlines of the story, which runs as follows:

Constantia, the daughter of the Emperor Constantine, had two provosts, named John and Paul. Gallicanus, the commander of the imperial army, was about to set out against the barbarians, and asked that Con-

<sup>9</sup> Creizenach, *op. cit.*, I, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> C. Narbey, *Supplément aux Acta Sanctorum pour des Vies de Saints de l'Epoque Mérovingienne*: Paris, Welter (1899-1900), II, pp. 131-52. M. Narbey believes that this manuscript is an authentic copy of a life of St. Constantia written by a contemporary, of which we find traces in other saints' legends.

<sup>11</sup> Th. Graesse, *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea*: Dresden and Leipzig, Arnold (1846), pp. 364-67. The first part of the story is also given in the *Acta Sanctorum* collected by the Bollandists, under date of June 25, and the latter part under June 26.

stantia be given to him in marriage as a reward. Constantine himself was willing, but knew that his daughter had taken a vow of virginity; she, however, told her father that if Gallicanus gained the victory the marriage might be considered; she asked to have the two daughters of Gallicanus dwell with her, and delivered to him John and Paul to go with him to battle. Gallicanus was besieged by the barbarians, and John and Paul told him, "Make a vow to the God of heaven, and you shall conquer." He did so, and there appeared to him a young man carrying a cross on his shoulder, who said to him, "Take your sword and follow me." The young man led him to the king of the opposing army, whom he slew; and the army straightway surrendered. On returning to Rome, he told the emperor that he had taken a vow of chastity, and asked to be released from his engagement to Constantia. His two daughters were also converted, and he gave all his goods to the poor and served God. Gallicanus suffered martyrdom under Julian; and John and Paul, who had inherited Constantia's property, were put to death by Julian's emissary Terentianus. Terentianus's son was seized with madness; but when Terentianus confessed his sin and became a Christian, the son was healed.

This story Hrotsvitha reproduces faithfully, the only essential difference between her version and that of the legends being that hers is in dialogue instead of in narrative form. The opening scene presents Constantine in conversation with Gallicanus; Constantine explains the urgent reasons why Gallicanus should take the field against the barbarians; and the general agrees to do the emperor's bidding but asks for the hand of Constantia as a reward; Constantine hesitates but promises to consult his daughter. In the second scene Constantine tells her of Gallicanus' wishes, and she protests that she would rather die than break the vow of virginity that she has taken. He appreciates her feeling, but reminds her of the disaster that may befall the state if he does not grant his general's request. She proposes a plan: that Constantine shall pretend to agree to Gallicanus' conditions and shall persuade Gallicanus to leave his two daughters with Constantia during his absence, Gallicanus himself taking as his companions in the war Constantia's chamberlains, John and Paul. "But if he returns victorious, what shall we do?" asks Constantine. "We must call upon almighty God," says Constantia, "to change Gallicanus's heart." The third scene (a scant dozen lines) shows Gallicanus in anxious consultation with other nobles, wondering what the outcome of Con-

stantine's conference will be. In the fourth, he is summoned into the imperial presence, as follows:

*Constantinus.* Gallicane!

*Gallicanus.* Quid dixit?

*Principes.* Procede, procede; vocat te!

*G.* Dii propitii, favete!

*C.* Perge securus, Gallicane, ad bellum; reversurus enim accipies, quod desideras, praemium.

*G.* Illudisne me?

*C.* Si illudo.

*G.* Me felicem, si unum scirem!

*C.* Quid unum?

*G.* Eius responsum.

*C.* Filiae?

*G.* Ipsius.

So the story proceeds, through a total of twenty-two scenes. The two daughters of Gallicanus are brought to Constantia; Gallicanus, with John and Paul, departs for war; the soldiers arm themselves to meet the foe; there is a spirited battle scene, in which we are at one moment on the Roman side, hearing the defeatist counsel of the tribunes and witnessing Gallicanus' vow, and at the next are in the midst of the panic-stricken enemy, as they drop their arms and sue for mercy. Gallicanus returns to Rome, performs his devotions at St. Peter's, tells the emperor the story of the battle, and renounces his claim to Constantia. And then suddenly we are in the reign of Julian the Apostate, who is ordering a confiscation of Christian goods. The persecution of John and Paul, the madness and restoration of Terentianus' son, all follow in due course; and the play ends with a prayer of thanksgiving by Terentianus.

The defects of the drama are obvious. There is practically no plot, no entanglement to be resolved; the characters have little individuality; and the interest, instead of being unified, centers on Gallicanus in the first part and on John and Paul in the second. But all these defects were undoubtedly in Hrotsvitha's sources; and if she has followed them with too great fidelity, the fault is surely pardonable in one who was working in an unfamiliar medi-

um and had not yet mastered her craft. And in reshaping the legend of Gallicanus, Hrotsvitha has actually contributed something of her own. Out of the shadowy figure of the emperor's daughter she has made a really appealing character, sweet and docile with her father, gentle and affectionate with her maiden companions; and her description of the "young man of lofty stature, bearing a cross on his shoulders," who appeared to Gallicanus, and of the heavenly host who thronged about him on the right hand and on the left, has an imaginative quality far beyond anything in the legends of the saints.

The plays which follow show a marked advance in technique. *Dulcitius*, the next in order, has only fourteen scenes, as compared with the twenty-two of *Gallicanus*; *Calimachus* and *Abraham* each have nine. And the structure of these dramas is much firmer. In *Dulcitius*, the Emperor Diocletian reasons with three Christian maidens — Agapes (Love), Chionia (Purity), and Hirena (Peace) — trying to induce them to renounce their faith and wed three young nobles of the court. When they refuse, he orders them thrown into prison, under the custody of Dulcitius; and they are accordingly taken to a cell, in the antechamber of which certain cooking utensils are stored. At night, as they are singing hymns, Dulcitius approaches the cell, intending to embrace the maidens. They pray, "Deus nos tueatur!" Then a great rattling of pots and pans is heard; and the maidens, peering through a crack, see Dulcitius clasping the grimy cooking utensils to his bosom and imprinting kisses upon them. Then, blackened with soot, he returns to his soldiers, who stare at him in consternation and cry, "*Quis hic egreditur? Daemoniacus. Vel magis ipse diabolus. Fugiamus!*" Diocletian orders the maidens put to death; Agapes and Chionia are placed upon a pyre, where, however, neither their hair nor their garments are injured by the flames, and their spirits pass quietly from their bodies. Orders are given for Hirena to be taken to a brothel; but two supernatural beings rescue her from the soldiers and lead her to a hill-top, where an arrow from a soldier's bow ends her life, but only after she has uttered this triumphant hymn:



Hinc mihi quam maxime gaudendum, tibi vero dolendum,  
quia pro tui severitate malignitatis in tartara dampnaberis;  
ego autem, martirii palmam virginitatisque receptura coronam,  
intrabo aethereum aeterni regis thalamum; cui est honor et  
gloria in saecula.

*Calimachus* has more dramatic interest than either of the preceding plays, and shows increased skill in character-drawing. It also approaches more closely than either of its predecessors to the Terentian type of plot, in that the entire action of the play is motivated by the love of *Calimachus* for *Drusiana*. In the opening scenes *Calimachus*, like *Chaerea* in the *Eunuchus*, tells his friends of his passion, which has not yet been revealed to its object; they declare that his hopes are vain, for *Drusiana* has been baptized and has devoted herself so completely to the service of God that she will not even visit the couch of her own husband. He nevertheless approaches her and declares his love:

*C.* Sermo meus ad te, *Drusiana*, praecordialis amor.

*D.* Quid tecum velis, *Calimache*, sermonibus agere, vehementer admiror.

*C.* Miraris?

*D.* Satis.

*C.* Primum de amore.

*D.* Quid de amore?

*C.* Id scilicet, quod te prae omnibus diligo.

*D.* Quod ius consanguinitatis, quaeve legalis conditio institutionis compellit te ad mei amorem?

*C.* Tui pulchritudo.

*D.* Mea pulchritudo?

*C.* Immo.

*D.* Quid ad te?

*C.* Pro dolor! hactenus parum, sed spero, quod attineat postmodum.

*D.* Discede, discede, leno nefande; confundor enim diutius tecum verba miscere, quem sentio plenum diabolica deceptione.

When he has withdrawn, *Drusiana*, overwhelmed at the thought of the ruin which her beauty has wrought, prays for death. Her prayer is answered and she is laid away in the tomb. But even this catastrophe does not release *Calimachus* from the torture of love; he goes to the tomb and bribes the guard to allow

him access to the body. But as Calimachus enters the sepulcher, the guard cries out in terror at a horrible serpent; the guard is killed by the serpent's bite, and Calimachus is miraculously struck dead. In the next scene, Drusiana's husband and St. John, approaching the tomb, hear a voice from heaven promising the resurrection of Drusiana and of one who lies near her; John utters a long prayer, and then in the name of Christ calls upon Calimachus to rise and confess his sins. The restored and penitent lover now swears devotion to Christ alone, and Drusiana's resurrection follows. The guard is also called back to life; but after a few hasty inquiries about the situation, he declares: "If what you say is true, if Drusiana has raised me from the dead and Calimachus believes in Christ, I scorn life and gladly choose death. I prefer not to live rather than to see so much grace and virtue in them." So the others commit him to the fires of everlasting torment, and end with thanksgiving to God.

*Abraham* (or *The Fall and Conversion of Mary, Niece of the Hermit Abraham*) has some exquisite touches. In the opening dialogue Abraham tells his fellow-monk Effrem of the little niece (*neptis tenella*), bereft of both father and mother, whom he would like to win to a life of celibacy. Mary is called in, agrees to her uncle's plan for her, and is established in a little cell next to Abraham's own, through the window of which he plans to instruct her in the psalter and other pages of Holy Writ. Some years later Abraham, bowed down with grief, comes to Effrem and tells him a sad tale: a lover in monk's garb has come to Mary's window and persuaded her to flee with him; then, her honor lost, she has in despair given herself up to a life of vanity. Word comes to her uncle that she has taken up her abode in the house of a certain procurer to whom she brings much gain. Then, by a ruse similar to that of Chaerea in the *Eunuchus*, but of course with quite a different purpose, Abraham disguises himself as a soldier, with a cap over his tonsured head, and journeys to the place. Mary shows the supposed stranger gentle reverence, kisses his gray head, and kneels beside him to unfasten his boots. Then he throws off his disguise, and calls upon his adopted child, by the love that

he has borne her and all her years of holy living, to repent and turn from her sins. She falls prostrate to the earth; but as he encourages her with the hope of forgiveness, she rises, leaves her ill-gotten gains behind, and goes forth with him, in the early morning light, to return to her little cell.<sup>12</sup>

The two remaining plays must have been the ones that Hrotsvitha had particularly in mind when she spoke so proudly of weaving in "threads from the mantle of Philosophy"; but unfortunately these threads only detract from the dramatic value of the plays. *Pafnutius* deals with the conversion of the courtesan Thais — a theme which was treated in the nineteenth century by Anatole France and, through his story, passed over into modern opera.<sup>13</sup> In a long opening scene, Pafnutius explains to his disciples that, just as the *maior mundus* is composed of four opposing elements, so man, the *minor mundus*, is composed of body and spirit, opposed to one another. He discourses on dialectic, the quadrivium, and the harmony of music; and finally explains that he is sad because of the evil life of Thais; he plans to visit her in the guise of a lover and asks for the prayers of his disciples. The scene which follows bears a general resemblance to the one in which the disguised Abraham visits the prostitute Mary, but is much less moving. Pafnutius convinces Thais of her wrongdoing; she re-

<sup>12</sup> It is rather striking that this play, which marks the high point of Hrotsvitha's dramatic technique, should also contain the largest number of Vergilian reminiscences. The phrase which Abraham uses in speaking of Mary's age (p. 163, *vitali aura vinceretur*) is a blend of two in the *Aeneid* (I, 387, *auras vitales carpit*; and III, 339, *vescitur aura*); and he uses the words of Aeneas (*Aen.* II, 54) and of the unhappy shepherd of the first *Eclogue* (I, 16) when he tells of the dream that might have warned him of Mary's ruin, "*si mens non fuisset laeva*" (p. 167). He places her on his horse, "*ne itineris asperitas secet teneras plantas*" (p. 176; cf. Gallus's words to Lycoris in *Ecl.* x, 49), and Mary cries out in wondering gratitude, "*O, quem te memorem?*" (p. 176; cf. *Aen.* I, 327). Most of these parallels are noted by Winterfeld.

<sup>13</sup> On the origin and growth of the legend, see O. R. Kuehne, *A Study of the Thais Legend with Special Reference to Hrotsvitha's "Paphnutius"*: Philadelphia, privately printed (1922). On p. 76 of this book the author notes several additions and changes made by Hrotsvitha in the legend, and on pp. 99 f. he points out that the scholastic discussion at the beginning of the play and the introduction of the abbess in a later scene may have suggested similar features in the novel of Anatole France.

pents and makes a huge bonfire of the "mammon" that she has collected from her lovers. He then conducts her to a monastery, and the abbess places her in a small cell, through the opening of which she may receive food; she shrinks from the darkness and the prospect of filth, but Pafnutius sternly bids her remember the fires of hell. He then tells her to pray, not with words, but with tears, and to say only, "*Qui me plasmasti, miserere mei.*" When three years of penance have passed, Pafnutius learns that a disciple of the monk Antonius has had a vision of the marvelous glory in heaven awaiting Thais; he then visits her and predicts her death within fifteen days. He is with her in her last hour, as she prays, "*Qui plasmasti me, miserere mei*"; and himself offers a prayer for her departing spirit.

The scene of the last play, *Sapientia*, is laid in Rome in the time of Hadrian, but the principal characters (Wisdom and her three daughters, Faith, Hope, and Charity) are allegorical, and the philosophical element so predominates that there is little of the dramatic left. *Sapientia* and the three maidens are examined before the emperor; and *Sapientia*, in giving the ages of the three children (eight, ten, and twelve years), goes through an elaborate discourse on number, based on the *Institutio Arithmetica* of Boëthius. Hadrian orders them all to worship the gods of Rome and, on their refusal, puts them into custody; later, he bids *Fides* sacrifice to *Diana* and, when she remains steadfast, has her flogged and burned; *Spes* meets with a similar fate; *Karitas* is told merely to say "*Magna Diana*" but refuses to do even this. She is thrown into a fiery furnace, where, although the flames are so intense that they kill 5,000 men, she is seen walking about uninjured, with three shining ones beside her. She is then beheaded, and *Sapientia* and other matrons take the three bodies and bury them at the third milestone from the city. *Sapientia* offers a long prayer and then dies.

Clearly there is little in these six plays which, from our point of view, can justly be called Terentian. A faint hint of Terence's themes may be traced in the importance of the courtesans' rôles in *Abraham* and *Pafnutius*, and in the prominence of the love ele-

ment in some of the other plays, particularly in *Calimachus*, where passionate love is the dominant force in the action. Even here, however, as she warned us in the Preface, Hrotsvitha has deliberately set herself to supplant Terence, by showing the inferiority of earthly to heavenly love and by leading the two courtesans back to the fold. The disguise-motif, as it appears in *Abraham* and *Pafnutius*, is somewhat like that in the *Eunuchus*; but whereas Chaerea dons the eunuch's clothes for the purpose of gaining access to the girl with whom he has fallen in love, the two monks in Hrotsvitha's plays disguise themselves as lovers in order to save the souls of the women whom they visit. The humorous element may also be discovered in her plays, in the saucy replies of some of the youthful martyrs to their inquisitors (which, as a recent translator has remarked, strike the same note as speeches of the Christians in *Androcles and the Lion*),<sup>14</sup> in the characterization of the guard in *Calimachus*, who would rather stay dead than see virtue spreading itself, and, most notably, in the encounter of the amorous Dulcitius with the sooty pots and pans.<sup>15</sup> More definitely Terentian are certain tricks of vocabulary and phrasing — the exclamations *hercle*, *edepol*, *euax*, *pro dolor*, *hem*; and idiomatic expressions like *non flocci facio* and *di te perdant*. Winterfeld, in his edition of Hrotsvitha's works, lists in the notes a few phrases which may even have a more direct connection with passages in Terence's plays — *Gall.* p. 119, *paucis te volo*, for instance, which repeats *And.* 29; *Gall.* p. 122, *illudisne me*, similar to *Ad.* 697, *num ludis tu me?* and *Dulc.* p. 142, *nigellis panniculis obsitum*, like *Eun.* 236, *pannis annisque obsitum*.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> St. John, *op. cit.*, Pref., p. xix.

<sup>15</sup> H. E. Wedeck, "The Humor of a Mediaeval Nun, Hrotsvitha," in *Class. Wk.* xxi (1928), 130 f., comments on several other scenes. Personally, I do not feel that the finespun arguments of *Pafnutius* and *Sapientia* were humorous to the author.

<sup>16</sup> We need to use caution in dealing with these verbal similarities. The phrase *panniculis obsitum* is practically the same as *obsita pannis* in vs. 19 of *The Phoenix*, ascribed to Lactantius, and may have been familiar to Hrotsvitha from other sources than Terence; and phrases like *memoriae fixum teneo* (p. 118), on which Winterfeld cites *And.* 40, *in memoria habeo*, and *immo aliud* (p. 118; cf. *And.* 30, *immo aliud*) are too common in Latin literature to warrant any

But when all this has been said, the connections with Terence remain few in number, and the one outstanding similarity is that in both authors a story is developed by means of *dialogue*. That this dialogue could be acted seems never to have occurred to Hrotsvitha; Terence's plays had long since ceased to be given on the stage and were regularly read in private, or at most recited in the monastic schools. It was as reading-drama that Hrotsvitha thought of Terence's plays, and as reading-drama that she planned her own. If there could be doubt in anyone's mind on this point, an attempt to produce a play like *Gallicanus*, with its lightning changes of scene and its sudden leaps in time, should quickly dispel the doubt.<sup>17</sup>

The form in which Hrotsvitha cast her dramas was probably the nearest approach possible for her to the form of Terence's plays. To her, as to other readers of the Middle Ages, Terence's lines appeared to be prose, but prose of a peculiar elegance; and she therefore chose for her dramas a particularly elaborate form of prose composition, in which short phrases are balanced against one another, with the ends of the clausulae marked by rhyme.<sup>18</sup>

certain conclusions. The actual number of citations from Terence in Winterfeld's notes is less than from Boethius, Prudentius, or the Vulgate.

<sup>17</sup> For an emphatic statement of this point of view, see Coffman in *Mod. Phil.* xxii (1925), 262. The fact that some of the plays have been produced in recent years does not invalidate the argument. Cf. St. John, *The Plays of Hrotsvitha*, Pref., p. xxiii, for performances of *Calimachus* and *Pafnutius* in London theaters, and C. J. Kraemer, Jr., in *Class. Wk.* xx (1927), 198, for performances of *Abraham*, *Calimachus*, and *Dulcitius* at the Lawren Theatre Studio in New York City.

<sup>18</sup> Manitius, *Lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, I, p. 628, defines it as "*die Form, die im 10. Jahrhundert in der Prosa beliebt wurde, die Reimprosa, wo aufeinanderfolgende Stückchen der Rede miteinander gereimt sind, doch ohne dass Umfang und Rhythmus gleich sein mussten.*" C. S. Baldwin, *Mediaeval Rhetoric and Poetic*: New York, Macmillan (1928), p. 144, gives other examples of tenth-century rhymed prose; the extract from a ceremonious letter which he quotes in n. 41 is very similar, in tone and style, to the epistles prefixed to different sections of Hrotsvitha's works. In her plays, the use of balance and rhyme is most marked in passages of a heightened emotional tone, particularly in the prayers. To one familiar with mediaeval hymnody, there is a rather striking similarity between these prayers and the "transitional" sequences of the tenth and eleventh centuries, of which the famous *Victimae Paschali* is the best example; and it seems possible that these passages may have been influenced



Some of the speeches quoted earlier in this paper have shown the peculiar qualities of this *Reimprosa*, but the prayer of Drusiana from *Calimachus* may be given as a further example:

Intende, domine, mei timorem; intende, quem patior, dolorem! Quid mihi, quid agendum sit, ignoro: si prodidero, civilis per me fiet discordia; si celavero, insidiis diabolicis sine te refragari nequeo. Iube me in te, Christe, ocius mori, ne fiam in ruinam delicato iuveni!

In actual fact, Hrotsvitha's independent contribution to mediaeval Latin literature is far more important than her connection with Terence. It took real inspiration to see that the saints' legends which she and everyone else up to this time had handled in narrative form could be given as well, or better, in dialogue. And in adapting her material to the dramatic form, after the first awkward attempts in *Gallicanus*, she shows a rare gift for seizing on the great moments of a story and presenting them strikingly.<sup>19</sup> The sympathetic insight into the minds of her characters, and the deftness and sureness of the character-drawing in the best of her plays, are remarkable in one who had spent most of her mature years within convent walls. And whether her plays are to be regarded as an isolated phenomenon, without influence on later Latin literature, or whether, as Professor Coffman suggests, they may conceivably have furnished a hint for the later miracle plays,<sup>20</sup> this gentle nun of Gandersheim, who had the genius and the courage to attempt an entirely new literary type, deserves all honor.

to some extent by the church liturgy. For a parallel situation at a later date, when the cadences of the collects affected the style of twelfth- and thirteenth-century sermons, cf. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-27.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Creizenach, *op. cit.*, I, p. 18, "Besser als die Dramatiker des späteren Mittelalters versteht sie es, aus der überlieferten Begebenheit die Hauptmomente herauszugreifen."

<sup>20</sup> Coffman in *Mod. Phil.* xxii (1925), 263 f.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### POLYAENUS AND THE CYCLE

Though Polyaeus is by no means an important literary figure, he may, nevertheless, be regarded as a fair representative of the class of educated Greeks resident in Rome under M. Antoninus and L. Verus. His view on the authorship of the Homeric poems and the Cycle is probably the one which was commonly held in his day. In the *Strategmata* he quotes Homer nine times. One quotation is from the Catalogue and shows that Polyaeus did not scruple to regard even this part of the *Iliad* as Homeric. Furthermore, there are seven references to episodes in the *Odyssey*. In the midst of these quotations and references, Polyaeus writes that various authorities have stated that Troy fell because of the "counsel, words, and deceptive craft" of Odysseus. Today these words have survived in Strabo I, 17 and Stobaeus LIV, 48. Since there is a very similar passage in Homer, it is interesting to note that Polyaeus did not make the error of assigning these words to him.

In the dedicatory paragraph of the second book of the *Strategmata*, Polyaeus emphasizes two facts: that he has expended much effort in searching for his material and that his professional activities as lawyer did not leave him much leisure. In other words, Polyaeus seems to be apologizing for the character of his work, insisting, however, that he did the best he could in the time at his disposal. Critics have pointed out that he drew his material largely from a few readily accessible sources and that repetitions, confusions, and errors are not uncommon. But the references to Homer are essentially correct. This fact reveals that Homer occupied a central position in Polyaeus' reading and study and that for him Homer meant the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as we have them today.

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## Book Reviews

RALPH V. D. MAGOFFIN and MARGARET Y. HENRY, *Latin — First Year*: New York, Silver, Burdett and Company (1928). Pp. xl + 392.

*Latin — First Year* aims to meet the need occasioned by the *Report of the Classical Investigation* for a new type of first-year Latin book. Its authors, because of their training, interests, and experiences, are well fitted for this task. Dr. Magoffin contributes to this book a wealth of classical knowledge and experience, growing out of his deep interest in the field of archaeology and his extensive travels in all the Mediterranean countries where the Greeks and Romans once held sway. Dr. Henry used the mimeographed edition of the book in first-year Latin classes in the Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, New York, and has profited as well from the suggestions of other teachers who have used the book in this and other schools. *Latin — First Year*, therefore, is the product of actual schoolroom experimentation and use.

From the beginning the material and method are designed to cultivate interest in the study of Latin. The material used in the reading lessons has been chosen with the purpose of interesting the boys and girls in Roman life, customs, history, and mythology, and also with the purpose of setting before them those characteristic virtues and ideals of the Romans that have a value for modern life. Each narrative is built around a picture by the late E. Forti, of Rome, who was an archaeologist as well as a painter, and whose pictures, therefore, are true to the life of the ancient Romans. The book contains very few pictures of Roman ruins — in this respect unlike so many first-year Latin books. The illustrations, on the contrary, are intended to enable pupils to visualize Rome at the apex of her glory. Pictures of reliefs, monuments, and other classical works of art, together with descriptive paragraphs in English concerning them, or interesting bits of inform-

ation concerning Roman history and customs, are incorporated in almost every lesson. The writer has heard some criticism of the book from teachers who feel that this feature, especially in so far as it has to do with archaeology, is slightly overdone. For example, much questioning from pupils and teachers alike has been occasioned by the "puzzling inscription" copied from a tomb in Munich (p. 22), which seems to have proven altogether too puzzling for the adult as well as the child mind.

The immediate and ultimate objectives in the study of first-year Latin which are recommended in the *Report of the Classical Investigation* are faithfully adhered to throughout the book in the following respects:

1. Connected reading material is introduced from the outset. This reading material is the real foundation of the lesson and is presented first in the lesson. This should be treated by the "oral and aural" method, we believe.

2. The reading material is planned not only to furnish a motive of interest, but also to inculcate Roman character and standards of conduct.

3. The vocabulary, inflection, and syntax are presented functionally, being based on the Latin narrative in that lesson. In this way they are treated not as ends in themselves, but as essential aids to the supreme end, viz., the ability to read Latin with ease and pleasure.

4. The vocabulary is based on the word lists of Browne, Hurlburt, and Lodge.<sup>1</sup> Each word in the vocabularies is used ten times or more, thus affording provision for thorough mastery through repetition. In addition, systematic vocabulary reviews are inserted at regular intervals. The lesson vocabularies are short, averaging ten words in length. A Latin-English Vocabulary and an English-Latin Vocabulary are given in the Appendix. In the Latin-English Vocabulary the words found in the lesson vocabularies are printed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gonzalez Lodge, *Vocabulary of High School Latin*: New York, Publication Bureau of Teachers College (1907); George H. Browne, *A Memory-Test Latin Word-List*<sup>2</sup>: Boston, Ginn and Co. (1909); and Stephen A. Hurlbut, *Selected Latin Vocabularies for Second-Year Reading*: Washington, St. Albans Press (1926).

in bold face type; those words which appear in two or more Latin stories, but which are not to be learned, are given in italics. The new words used in the story material which the pupils should not yet make any effort to learn, are translated beneath the word as it first appears in the Latin narrative. Words which are not thus translated and not included in the vocabularies are to be interpreted by the pupils through their knowledge of English derivatives, or by close attention to the word grouping, gestures, and actions of the teacher in his oral presentation of the new material, with the aid of classroom objects or the picture in the book. The degree of success attained in the use of this book depends greatly upon the teacher — much more so, in fact, than in the use of textbooks of the staid, "cut and dried" type. Adversaries of the newer methods are inclined to say that, for this reason, the book is not so well adapted for use in small schools in the hands of inexperienced teachers. The question is: "Are progressive teachers to reduce their standards and sacrifice their conviction of what is best in Latin teaching in order to meet the level of the inexperienced or mediocre teacher, or are they rather to seek to carry out the recommendations of the *Report* and keep their standards high in an effort to teach their pupils to get the thought of Latin sentences through the Latin itself, and to broaden their cultural experience through the medium of the language itself?"

5. The points of syntax are limited to those specified in the *Classical Report* and are purposely first introduced in the Latin stories. That is to say, the treatment of syntax in this book is functional rather than formal. In accordance with the recommendations of the *Report* the mastery of the subjunctive, together with a few less frequently used inflectional forms, is postponed to the beginning of the second year.

6. Practice in the use of Oral Latin is provided through exercises entitled "Question and Quick Answer Practice," which is used as a preparation for written Latin composition. The latter is approached through a series of carefully graduated exercises: first, completion exercises; then, exercises with phrases for translation; and finally, exercises with English sentences for translation

into Latin, based upon the Latin story in the current lesson or upon those previously read.

7. One lesson in every ten is devoted to work in derivation. In almost every lesson there is, in addition, a "Word Study" based on the vocabulary of that lesson.

8. As a heading to almost every lesson we find a Latin motto and phrase, or phrases — an attractive feature of the book. These mottoes generally apply to the Latin story about to be read or illustrate a grammatical point to be studied in the lesson. In the explanation of the motto, which is given in fine print below the motto itself, reference is often made to writers or writings that pupils will meet later in their study of Latin.

The physical features of the book are in conformity with its subject-matter. On the cover, which is bright Pompeian red, the border is reproduced from a design painted on an ancient Greek vase. A reproduction of an Etruscan vase appears in the center. The lettering is in Roman capitals. An ancient sarcophagus of terra cotta appears as the design on the copyright page. The name for the Series is the word for ladder, in both Greek and Latin (κλίμαξ and climax), suggesting the basic idea for each book of the Series and for the Series itself; *i.e.* progress one step at a time.

A playlet, *Senātus Populusque Rōmānus*, which was written by Prof. Lillian B. Lawler of the University of Kansas and which has been successfully presented by first-year Latin pupils, is included as an interesting feature in the second semester's work.

For the teacher who desires a textbook which is characterized by simplicity of language, modernity of method, stimulation of independent thought, emphasis upon derivative values, daily mastery, and review, and which, at the same time, possesses an air of general scholarliness throughout, no better book can be found, we believe, than this little volume which it has been our pleasure and privilege to review.

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H. M. D. PARKER, *The Roman Legions*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1928). Pp. 291. \$5.00.

Mr. Parker, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen, Oxford, has provided a praiseworthy book in *The Roman Legions*. Teachers no longer need be confined to the Introduction of second-year Latin books, which are drily barren of the really interesting material about an interesting topic. Of course the selection of subjects for discussion in the book under review will not satisfy every reader, because the author omits camp-planning, siege operation, and field engineering.

The period covered by *The Roman Legions* starts with the beginning of the Roman army (Introduction, pp. 9-20). The Marian army reforms are explained in pp. 21-46. Particular attention is given to the vexed question of the promotion of centurions. The author follows Mommsen and von Domaszewski<sup>1</sup> in the interpretation of Caesar, *Bellum Civile* III, 53, 5. The precise meaning of *antesignani*, their position, and that of the *signa* in a battle formation are considered at some length. The conclusion is that the manipular standards, of which there were thirty, were retained for tactical reasons in front of their own units and that *antesignani*, at least in Caesar, are a special squad taking the place of the *velites*. Some idea of the composition and distribution of the legions in the armies of Caesar and Pompey is given in chapter II (pp. 47-71). The rise of *legati*, numbering of legions, and their movements also receive careful attention.

In the chapter devoted to the Augustan system and legions (pp. 72-92) Mr. Parker is chiefly interested in the number of legions which Augustus retained in active service. After discussing previous theories he argues for an army of twenty-eight legions by 16 B.C. Under the heading "The Post-Augustan Legions" (pp. 93-117) we are taken from A.D. 14-193, and consider the names and number of the legions. The movements of the legions constitute a separate chapter (pp. 118-68). While the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Nomina et Gradus Centurionum," *Ephem. Epigraph.* IV (1881), 226-45, and "Die Rangordnung des Römischen Heeres," *Bonner Jahrbücher* CXVII (1908), 1-278 (especially 94), respectively.

location of nearly all the legions for a given period is known, there are usually a few which cannot be placed with confidence. In such cases the author speaks with commendable caution. A useful addition to this section would have been one or two paragraphs summarizing the movements of a single legion, *e.g.* X Gemina or XIV Gemina. Helpful also to the teacher would be a composite diagram of the various tables showing the distribution of the legions at different intervals.

The author's main purpose was "to examine the internal organization of the legions, the areas from which they drew their recruits, and the conditions under which their soldiers served and were discharged." Hence chapter vi (pp. 169-86) takes up "The Recruiting Areas of the Legions." "The Officers of the Legion" (chap. vii, pp. 187-211) which are considered include the *legatus*, *tribuni militum*, *praefectus castrorum*, centurions, and junior officers. "The Conditions of Service" (pp. 212-47) is a very satisfactory chapter. It treats of the length of service, pay, employment and exercise, decorations and punishments, marriage, and discharge. Debatable points are explained without bias. The latest available evidence is presented. A concluding chapter (pp. 248-60) on "Arms; the Order of March and of Fighting" completes the main portion of the work. This is followed by three appendices: *A* comprises sections on "Cognomina, The Emblems on the Standards, and The Origins of the Augustan Legions" (pp. 261-72); *B* presents additional material on recruiting areas of the legions (pp. 272-76); and *C* considers in further detail the promotion of centurions under the principate (pp. 277-83). The material differs very little from the author's article on the same subject in the *Journal of Roman Studies* xvi (1926), 45-52. There is an Index of Proper Names and a Subject Index.

Mr. Parker has provided a desirable book on the Roman Legions. It is most unfortunate that a satisfactory bibliography has been omitted. The source of some material is indicated on the page (8) which explains the abbreviations, and a brief list of books may be found at the end of the Introduction (p. 20). The footnotes *passim* make reference to authorities ancient and mod-

ern. The citation of inscriptions is far from satisfactory. In 176 instances (exclusive of the appendices) Dessau's collection is cited as the source of the inscriptions, and in 141 instances the Corpus of Latin inscriptions. Dessau seems to be used whenever possible, *vid.*, e.g. p. 156 with four citations from Dessau and five from *C.I.L.*, while note 6 on 157 includes a reference to both collections. The text is generally well documented, but one wishes for an authority for such an assertion as that the tribe Pollia "was the tribe usually selected because of its lucky associations for individuals receiving the franchise on their incorporation in a legion" (pp. 182 f). The omission of the date of the papyrus mentioned on p. 221 (*Berliner Griechische Urkunden* III, 814) is disappointing.

Taken as a whole, *The Roman Legions* is very readable and will be found to be a useful book for teachers of Caesar and of Roman history.

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W. E. HEITLAND, *Last Words on the Roman Municipalities*: Cambridge University Press (1928). Pp. 80. 4s.

The chief end of this study of Heitland's is to point out defects in the Roman municipal system as used in the Empire. Heitland shows that the system, begun in Italy, was extended throughout the Empire so that it "can be not unfairly described as an aggregate of municipalities." Provinces of course had no self-government; but many towns and cities within them were largely in control of their own local affairs. This arrangement satisfied the peoples' need and desire for at least a share in government, made it simpler for Rome to rule her world, and prevented the development of any province into a large self-conscious unit. The municipality "had no share in the shaping of imperial policy" — the Empire was governed from Rome.

Heitland opposes "the impression that the municipalities of the Roman Empire enjoyed a sound and happy prosperity . . . for some three centuries." He doubts that the numerous inscriptions

recording benefactions, relating to the erection of buildings, etc., are a sufficient proof of the well-being of the municipalities of the second century. Rather the weaknesses shown in the reign of Marcus Aurelius point to grave and long-standing defects in the municipal system. He sees a fundamental weakness existing in the distinction between "townsmen and rustics." The rustics had not equal rights and privileges. The local governments, to keep things going well and the populace contented in the towns, tended "to squeeze the countryfolk." Resulting evils led to more and more interference by the central government till everything was managed from Rome. Now Rome's policy of centralization had destroyed any possible vital interest among her peoples in the Empire as a whole. Subdivision killed the possibility of a general public opinion. In the days of stress, when "vital cohesion and coöperation" were needed, they were wanting — their very existence had been prevented.

Heitland's discussion is well worth study. Particularly I like his suggestion that the arrangement of self-governing communities within a non-self-governing province was essentially a continuation of the old policy of *divide and conquer*, which had been admirably adapted to the days of Rome's imperial conquests, but was not suited to the governing of her stabilized Empire or to its continued well-being. I am not so convinced of the importance of the great distinction between urban and rustic populations, or in fact of its existence. Did not the "rustics" themselves often live in the towns? The recently published<sup>1</sup> edict of L. Antistius Rusticus (about A.D. 93) to the colony of Antioch seems to show clearly that some of the *coloni* and *incolae* of that colony were themselves farmers. It is unfortunate that Heitland had not seen Johnson's excellent chapter,<sup>2</sup> "The Decline of the Roman Municipalities," which appeared in 1926.

G. A. HARRER

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<sup>1</sup> D. M. Robinson, "An Edict from Pisidiam Antioch," *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* LV (1924), 5-20.

<sup>2</sup> F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*: Princeton University Press (1926), 197-231.

FRANK P. CHAMBERS, *Cycles of Taste*, An Unacknowledged Problem in Ancient Art and Criticism: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1928). Pp. vii + 139.

An acquaintance with the newly arisen tendency towards cycle-hunting in the various avenues of human experience may very likely incline the reader of *Cycles of Taste* to the belief that Mr. Chambers has found his inspiration in the pages of Spengler's *Untergang*.<sup>1</sup> But in a concluding footnote he will discover that what he suspected of being analogy is no more than coincidence. This essay was completed before Spengler became known to the author.

Mr. Chambers's audience may with some justification complain that they are not sooner taken more completely into his confidence. We are kept, indeed, very much in the dark as to the real purpose of the book till we reach the concluding chapter, when the work rushes to a close with headlong speed. It is only at that eleventh hour that the Cycles begin at all vividly to appear. We ultimately find that what the author attempts to prove is that, in the first place, the Greeks of the Classic Age possessed no love of the Beautiful, no consciousness of art. *Φιλοκαλία* cannot be found either in the Funeral Oration or in Plato. Hence, one may well despair of finding it elsewhere in classical Greek literature. It is only in Hellenistic times, Mr. Chambers would have us believe, that there comes in a true feeling for τὸ καλόν dissociated wholly from τὸ ἀγαθόν. A puritanical "moral resistance" had held in check all artistic appreciation in the earlier age; and it was coincident with the letting down of the bars in the third and second centuries that a feeling for art somewhat akin to that of the modern world came into being.

So too with Rome. Artistic culture and original sin were held as synonymous by the men of the Republic. A real consciousness of art arose in Imperial times. This was succeeded by an era of

<sup>1</sup> Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, translated by Charles F. Atkinson: New York, A. A. Knopf (2 vols., 1926 and 1928) — cited by Chambers on p. 132, n. 17.

pessimism and dissatisfaction as touching everything wherein art was concerned.

The third Cycle begins with the Middle Ages. In the eyes of the Church, the arch-enemy stood so dangerously close to artistic endeavor that the latter must never be freed from religious taboo. But presently the Renaissance was able to find the Beautiful in much that had hitherto been accounted but Moral. This spirit of enthusiasm and zeal persisted for centuries; just now we have fallen into the state of pessimism that characterized the later stages of the Roman Empire.

Mr. Chambers will doubtless find many who will agree with him with regard to the constitution of his second Cycle. The other two present more doubtful theses. What of the artistic consciousness of the fifth century, whose existence the author denies? He grants that much of his contention is based on the *argumentum e silentio*, but he feels that the evidence which he does have at hand is ample for his purpose. The questions that he has left unanswered might be thus stated: What of the artists themselves? The Roman Republic and most of the Middle Ages were weak, if not altogether barren, in artistic production. Not so fifth-century Athens. Is it possible that great works of art should spring up without the existence of a more or less appreciative public? What might the literature that has perished have revealed to us?

However all this may be, the book certainly provides a useful and scholarly compendium of ancient criticism, and it is greatly to its credit that it carries the reader from first to last without a lessening of the interest. In other words, it is provocative and stimulating, although a suspicion sometimes creeps upon us that Mr. Chambers is writing in an attitude best described as "with tongue in cheek."

The book contains few misprints or errors of detail. It may be not quite correct to say of Pliny the Younger that (78) "all his ideas are his own," in contrast to those of his uncle. Mr. Chambers speaks in one place (10) of the act of Polyxena in "baring her bosom and breasts as a statue," as Euripides puts it, as a possible allusion to "the half-draped female statues then coming into



vogue" (ca. 425 B. C.). But though the torn chiton of an Amazon may, in fifth-century sculpture, reveal not a little of the torso, the semi-nude female belongs to the Hellenistic schools of art. Unfortunately, Mr. Chambers still conceives of the Spartans (17 f.) as we have them in literature, and that mainly Athenian literature. He is seemingly not familiar with the new estimate of this people that has followed upon the recent discoveries at Sparta, and the demonstration of the remarkable attainments of the Laconians — which the Athenians were careful to conceal — in the arts of ceramics, metal-work, and even sculpture.

A. D. FRASER

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HORACE LEONARD JONES, *The Geography of Strabo*, with an English Translation, Vol. v. (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. 542. \$2.50.

The fifth volume on Strabo contains the text and translation of Books x to xii with a five-page appendix on the Ithaca-Leucas problem (favoring Leucas<sup>1</sup>), a partial bibliography of the Ithaca-Leucas problem, a partial dictionary of proper names, and a useful map of Asia Minor. The Greek text has been much improved by Professor Jones who has made many important emendations. The translation is in clear, good English and accurate. In brief this is the best text of Strabo to date, though we sadly need a detailed annotated edition of Strabo like Fraser's Pausanias. The late Professor Weller, of the University of Iowa, and I had planned such a work, but we were never able to finance it or get a suitable publisher, and then Walter Leaf published a volume on the thirteenth book of Strabo.<sup>2</sup> The plan of the Loeb Classical Library prevents such an exhaustive commentary; but equally useful with the Appendix and many of the notes which are incorporated would be references to some of the publications of the

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion which appeared too late for consideration by Professor Jones, cf. A. D. Fraser, *Class. Phil.* xxiii (1928), 213-38, though archaeologists will not accept Fraser's theory that Ithaca is Cephallenia.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Class. Phil.* v (1910), 369 — Walter Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*: Cambridge University Press (1923).

excavations at the places mentioned by Strabo, as is actually done for the sanctuary of Men Ascaeus near Antioch-over-against-Pisidia (430-33). For example, a mere mention of Franz Cumont's *Fouilles de Doura-Europus*<sup>3</sup> would have been better than the note (309) "the name is spelled both in plural and in singular," since Strabo's statement about the founding of Europus by Macedonians is confirmed and we now know, after the excavations at Olynthus, that the type of house found at Europus is Macedonian. A reference to Robinson's monograph on *Ancient Sinope*<sup>3</sup> would have been as good as a long quotation (389) from the antiquated book of Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*. A reference to the publication of the sculptures from Colonia Caesarea<sup>3</sup> would have been interesting in confirming Strabo's statement (507) that Antioch-near-Pisidia "was settled by Magnetans who lived near the Maeander River." Professor Jones probably would have liked to give such short annotations, and it is a matter for regret that the plan of the Loeb Series did not allow it.

The spelling of proper names in a book meant for the general public is peculiar: "Aegaeon," "Aegyptian," "Cyrenaea" for "Cyrenaica," "Leucullus" for "Lucullus" (why not "Leucoullus" or "Loucoullus," or "Acousilaus" for "Acusilaus" [115] or "Sounium" [121]?) except in referring to Plutarch, *Lucullus*, as on 390, "Magnetans" for "Magnesians," "Sinopitis," "Seilenus," "Troglodytae" when we have a good English word "Troglodytes." Why "Cherronesus" (143) and "Chersonesus" (379)? For the general reader it would have been well to use in the English translation fewer Greek words; so not "Phrygia Epictetus," but "Annexed Phrygia"; so not "Homadeis" but "Homonadenians" (477, 479, 481), especially if you speak of "Myconians" (171). In some cases the Greek used in the English version is incorrect, as *chlhamatê* (41) for *chthamalê*. I should prefer "Abonuteichos" to "Abonuteichus" (387). The Macedonian Olythus is confused twice with Olenus in Aetolia (539).

Because of the peculiarity in the spelling of proper names and

<sup>3</sup> Paris, Paul Geuthner (1926) — Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1906) — *Art Bulletin* ix (1926), 5-69.

a very few misprints let no one think that this is not a very valuable edition, for Professor Jones evidently has spent much study on the text and has corrected many a difficult passage. We now have a readable text and a good translation, which antiquates that in the Bohn Library by Hamilton and Falconer. We congratulate Professor Jones on his promptness in issuing the first five volumes, and hope the remaining three will soon appear.

DAVID M. ROBINSON

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

M. M. GILLIES, *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, Book III*, with Introduction and Commentary: Cambridge University Press (1928). Pp. xlviii + 160.

This edition avowedly makes the attempt "to stimulate the student to form his own judgment of a work which is unique of its kind and which has long been in exile from its proper place among the masterpieces of ancient Greek literature" (p. xlv). That it succeeds in the attempt anyone who reads the work will readily admit. The edition shows signs of much work, a thorough knowledge of the period to which the *Argonautica* belongs, keen literary appreciation, and a fine discrimination in the treatment of tradition and evidence. Like all books of selections it seeks to stimulate with the best of an author, conscious that the student must return to the author again to get a complete view of his work.

The Introduction, in its content and arrangement, will be of great service to students of the literature of the Alexandrian Age. It professes to be only a brief survey of the literature of the period and the institutions and views of life that tended to turn literature in the various directions it took. The first section, "The Alexandrine Library and its Librarians," is extremely interesting, particularly in its treatment of the relation between Callimachus and Apollonius. Following the latest evidence on the librarians at Alexandria (*Ox. Pap.* x [1914], frag. 1241), the author shows (pp. xi f.) that Callimachus was never librarian at Alexandria. He cites the evidence adduced by Mair in his edition of Calli-

machus (Loeb Series, Introd. pp. 6-11) that the tradition of Callimachus' headship rests on the error of a Plautine scholium. That the quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius might possibly be explained on political grounds he seems at first inclined to believe, but his fuller treatment of the question later (p. xliii) indicates that he can hardly abandon the tradition that the reasons were academic. He cannot venture to assert, however, that the cause was the employing of the love-motif in an epic poem.

An objection that may fairly be urged against the treatment of Alexandrian literature in departments is that particular authors suffer injustice. With all that is excellent in the Introduction the reader gets a very imperfect impression of the genius and art of Theocritus. And just here one might suggest that because the Introduction covers so much ground it must do so in too meagre outline at times; see pp. xxi f. The department also is sometimes too briefly treated, for instance, the department of Elegy and Epigram.

In the discussion of the Romantic-motif under the heading, "Romance and the Epic," if the background of the love-motif is to be considered, mention should be made of the Nausicaa episode in the *Odyssey*.

The author rightly points out that a complete bibliography would be almost unlimited. No mention is made of A. S. Way's translation in the Temple Series.<sup>1</sup> It is also rather surprising to see Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, cited in the edition of 1900, when a third edition is available.<sup>1</sup>

The author has done a great service to Apollonius with his edition of what all scholars recognize to be the best part of the *Argonautica*. Completeness, however, would seem to demand the inclusion of part of the fourth book. Within the limits of the third book the character of Medea is not fully developed. From the point of view of dramatic interest the first part of the fourth book is as great as much of the third. In fact, Jason, who begins to show his real self in the third book, develops fully in the fourth; and the influence of Medea's discovery of this true self

<sup>1</sup> London (1910), and Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel (1914), respectively.

gradually reveals her inner nature. If Apollonius is to be given a place among the great poets because of his treatment of this motif that was new to epic, then his claim to that place is strengthened by the inclusion of the part suggested.

In earlier treatments of the *Argonautica* the story of Jason and Medea was an incident. In the hands of Apollonius the incident overshadows the rest of the poem. Medea is the most interesting person in the poem; in fact in the third and fourth books she is the dominating figure. Furthermore, she changes, in the progress of the poem, from an epic character to a tragic heroine. Nowhere is the treatment of the tragic character more powerful than in the scene in Book IV, where Medea suspects that Jason is, through fear, attempting to leave her. Medea has learned what many another in a like situation learns, that the maiden in love cannot afford to put her lover under an obligation to her. Her anger expresses itself in words of bitter scorn of his deceit but subsides into a helpless plea to be taken with him.

The inclusion of the part suggested would, of course, increase the size of the volume; and this consideration was, no doubt, in part responsible for its exclusion.

THOMAS SHEARER DUNCAN

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

F. C. DOHERTY, *Three Private Speeches of Demosthenes*, with Notes: New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch (1927). Pp. 111. \$1.25.

This book contains the orations *Against Phormio*, *Against Boeotus*, and *Against Conon*. The text of the first two speeches is that of the Oxford edition (1920), and of the third that of the Teubner edition (1911), with slight alterations. Each speech is equipped with an introduction, an analysis, and brief notes. The Greek *argumenta* are not given. There is no vocabulary.

The notes are carefully written but, as a result of their brevity, are not always helpful. For example, on page 80 we find: "Peiraeus, as distinct from τὸ ἄστυ, was a deme." A student who has reached Demosthenes in his reading can reasonably be expected to

have more information about the Piraeus than this statement imparts. In that case the note is of no value. If, on the other hand, a student has no recollection of the Piraeus and its importance in the history of Athens, the note will not be of much assistance. Either more or nothing should have been said on this point. On the same page (80), σιτῶναι is printed with an acute accent, instead of a circumflex.

Although these three orations are among those contained in that excellent work of Sandys and Paley,<sup>1</sup> the present book meets a very real need in a satisfactory manner; it will serve as an excellent introduction not only to Demosthenes but also to the study of daily life in ancient Athens.

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NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

<sup>1</sup>*Select Private Orations of Demosthenes*<sup>3</sup>: Cambridge University Press (Part I, 1898; Part II, 1896).



## Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, North Carolina. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### A Latin Laboratory

Miss Gertrude McEachen, of the high school in Albion, Nebraska, writes the following description of the Latin Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin and suggests the possibility of adapting the idea to high-school needs.

The Latin Laboratory of the University of Wisconsin was organized under the guidance of Miss Frances Sabin about fifteen years ago and for the last few years has been under the direction of Miss Calla A. Guyles. In the new wing in Bascom Hall, an attractive, well-lighted room has been set apart for this purpose. Probably the most striking feature is the library, including books of history, mythology, fiction, and methods of teaching, texts, and supplementary readers. Numerous filing cases containing papers and pamphlets on Latin authors and suggestions for teachers are an invaluable source of reference. Two shelves, extending the length of the room, are occupied by models of Roman buildings, ships, implements of warfare, and a miniature reproduction of Caesar's bridge. A large bulletin board has a prominent place and forms a definite means of instruction. There is a long cabinet with a sloping top on which are displayed notebooks and scrapbooks on various subjects. The drawers of this cabinet are filled with mimeographed copies of material for the use of Latin students. A revolving bookcase holds pamphlets, catalogues, and current magazines. A glass case exhibiting a reproduction of the Roman Forum occupies a conspicuous place. The cabinet below this case contains pictures of interest to the student of the classics. In the center of the room is a study table equipped with dictionaries and material of current interest. The effect which the room produces is instantaneous and inspirational.

The Laboratory has developed through the coöperation of students and teachers. It has been kept up to date by contributions in the form of committee reports and individual studies. Teachers in Wisconsin secure copies of various reports and other helpful information simply by writing to the department; so the service of the laboratory is state wide.

A room of this type or even a section of a classroom used in this way would help to arouse the interest of high-school students. It would furnish an incentive to them to investigate the background of their studies. Some of the features especially adapted to this purpose are the bulletin board, the models, the display of note books, collections of pictures, and most important of all the library of works on history, mythology, and fiction. Students in the Latin Department would be stimulated to do something more than the daily routine assignment, to contribute their share to the Laboratory, and to coöperate with classmates in making it an attractive and interesting room. Students in other departments might be encouraged to avail themselves of the resources afforded by the Laboratory, of the advantages of its reference shelves, and of the opportunity for contact with the classics. The sphere of influence of the Latin Department would be widened and a greater interest in the subject would be created.

#### Scrapbooks — Cicero

Miss Evelyn Martin, Central High School, Greensboro, North Carolina, sends this outline, which has the merit of holding closely to the background and subject-matter of the Latin that is being read; and the pupils who follow it will come out with a well-developed background for Cicero's orations.

I have had better results from my third-year pupils when they do something other than the mere translation of six orations of Cicero. To help the pupil acquire a background necessary for understanding what he reads in Latin, I have a list of books which I use for parallel reading. At least two of these are required for the year.

Each pupil makes an intensive study of some topic in his reading relating to Cicero and his times, and this I use as a contribution to a Cicero scrapbook. With each topic, maps, plans, clippings, and suggestive pictures are used. This gives the pupils an opportunity to make use of their abilities — artistic and literary — and arouses greater interest in Cicero and the Roman world of his day.

The following are suggestive topics:

1. The Forum — Maps, Pictures, Arches, Etc.
2. Early Buildings.

3. Cicero As an Orator.
4. The Human Side of Cicero.
5. Cicero's Country Homes.
6. A Typical Roman House.
7. Slaves in Rome.
8. Places at Which Cicero Had Villas.
9. Government in the Time of Cicero.
10. Political Parties in Rome.
11. Offices before the Consulship.
12. Consular Elections.
13. Roman Religion.
14. Roman Feast Days.
15. Features of Roman Life Brought out in the Orations.
16. Prominent Men Mentioned in Cicero's Orations — Catiline, Pompey, Caesar, Etc.
17. Bridges — the Mulvian Bridge.
18. Roman Roads.
19. Estimates of Cicero.
20. Allusions in Modern Literature to Cicero and His Time.

#### Random Notes on Words

(Dean S. E. Stout, Indiana University)

##### SEQUOR

*Sequor* illustrates well some of the common lines along which words acquire new meanings. Its fundamental meaning is local, dealing with relations in space, "to follow a moving object." The transfer of the meaning of words from local to temporal relations is very common. The opposite transfer seems not to take place. From following in space *sequor* passes to the meaning of following in time; that is, of happening later. By a third extension, to the sphere of logical relations, it came to mean "to follow as a consequence, result, or effect from some cause." Somewhere in this chain of developing meanings it came to be used of the later terms of a series of things or events. *Secundus* thus came to mean "second." *Viam sequi*, used of travelling along a road, is an easy extension of meaning. Again, "to follow" is a natural expression to be applied to the continued effort to attain an objective which seems to keep beyond our grasp. In Horace's *discere a peritis, sequi optimos* its meaning may be rendered by "imitate."

A wind that followed a ship helped it on its way. *Ventus secundus* was thus a "favorable wind." An extension of this meaning is found in *res secundae* for "prosperity" or "success."

*Secundum* as a preposition means "according to." More literally in the phrase *secundum flumen* it means "down stream."

I rarely find advanced college students who have clearly in mind the meanings of the compounds of *sequor* that are so frequently met. Yet they are instructive for one seeking to learn how meanings of compounds develop, and a quick and sure grasp of their meanings adds to the ease and especially to the pleasure of reading.

*Consequor* means fundamentally "to follow until one is *with* the object of his pursuit;" hence (1) "to follow close upon, to press upon;" (2) "to catch up with, to overtake;" and (3), of a purpose or objective, "to attain, succeed in, accomplish."

*Adsequor*, "to follow until one comes *to* the object of his pursuit," has all of the meanings of *consequor* except the first, but arrives at them through a different process of development.

*Persequor* characterizes the following as persevering, unrelenting. When hostility is implied, as is often the case with this word, unrelenting following may even pass into vindictiveness. This compound also develops the meanings (1) "to press upon," and (2) "to accomplish."

*Prosequor* fixes the attention upon the forthcoming, the forward movement of the follower. It is principally used of attending as a mark of honor, of escorting, one who is departing; but Caesar employs it repeatedly of following with hostile intent a retreating foe. The movement of the pursuers would be forward from the standpoint of Caesar's forces.

*Insequor* usually implies a hostile, or at any rate a critical, attitude on the part of the pursuer; *i.e.* *in* has the force of "against." This is of course an acquired force, and does not belong of necessity to the compound. *Insequens* is more common than *sequens* with words of time, as *die insequenti*, "on the following day."

Certain prepositions, such as *ante* and *prae*, are so inconsistent with *sequor* in meaning that they are not found in composition with it. This may explain also the absence of compounds with *ab* and *de*, although these prepositions may introduce phrases modifying *sequor*. "To follow a person off" or "away" is expressed by some such phrase as *cum abeuntem* or *progredientem sequi*. *Exsequor* became the regular word for "to follow a corpse from the dwelling to the grave," and led to the noun *exsequiae*, meaning "funeral procession." No certain case of *obsequiae* in this sense, the evident parent of our word "obsequies," is found until in the Middle Ages. This meaning bears no natural relation to the meaning of *obsequor*, and seems to have resulted from a misconception of the word.

*Obsequor* strangely has the meaning "to yield to, oblige, humor." Comment on this word is reserved for a special Note on "Compounds of *Ob*" to be offered later.

**Suggestions for Posters**

Illustrated Vocabulary

Illustrated Sentences

Topics of Current Interest

Lindbergh and Mercury

Lindbergh, Daedalus, and Icarus

Caesar and Mussolini

Ben Hur

Washington (*Pater Patriae*)Lincoln (*Liberator Servorum*)

Topics of Classical Interest

The Forum

Temples in Rome

Aqueducts

Bridges

Roman Dress, Foods, Customs, and Amusements

Italy

Italian Cities of Historic Interest

The Tiber River

Cartoons with Classical Background or Basis

Derivation of Names of Months of the Year and Important Events in

Each Month

Mythological Stories Underlying the Names of Flowers

Mythological Stories Underlying Advertisements

Famous Men or Women (*Clari Viri*)

Poets and Their Classical Poems

Original Drawings Illustrating Stories

Materials

White Bristol Board

Tag Board

Mounting Paper

Black, Grey, Green, Tan, Brown, or White

Pictures, Cartoons, Jokes, Phrases, Etc.

References to Roman History, Classical Mythology, English and

American Literature

Methods

Coöperation

Collecting Materials

Cutting out Pictures

Mounting

Printing

Original Drawings

Competition between Classes

Committee and Individual Work Done Largely out of Class with or without Supervision

**Posters for the Bulletin Board**

Pictures from University Prints, Newton, Mass., to which may be added typewritten comments from Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*: Chicago, American Book Company (1896).

A 371 Grave Relief (A Slave Tying Sandal)

A 334 Triumphal Procession

A 303 The Triumph of Caesar

A 259 A Gaul and His Wife

A 220 Niobe and Daughter

A 419 Augustus

A 429 Pompey; Hadrian

A 423 Julius Caesar

A 428 Marcus Aurelius

A 426 Cicero

MA 4 Head of Zeus

G 86 Arch of Constantine

G 88 Pantheon, Interior

G 87 Pantheon

A 336 Column of Trajan

Column of Marcus Aurelius

G 92 Baths of Caracalla

A Wrestler

C 473 Mercury

C 336 The Forge of Vulcan

A 291 Aphrodite of Melos

A 279 Poseidon of Melos

A 330 Minerva

E 179 Diana with the Stag

A 82 Archer

I am planning to post these on the bulletin board, possibly one or two a week, depending on the amount of time I can afford to spend on outside work. I shall have a student look up references for the picture posted each week and make a ten-minute oral report. I shall be satisfied if the pupils just become acquainted with the names of these various persons and places.

IRENE ROVELSTAD

ELGIN HIGH SCHOOL

ELGIN, ILLINOIS



**A Parallel—When Professional Musicians “Walk Out”**

We hear much these days of strikes and “walk-outs” among professional musicians, arising out of the competition of the radio and the talking moving picture. The situation recalls an incident of the year 311 B.C., told by Livy (ix, 30).

At Rome, he says, it had for a long time been a privilege of the guild of professional musicians, or flutists, to hold a festival in the temple of Jupiter; but in 311 B.C. two public officials, ignoring tradition, prohibited the festival. The flutists were indignant. After taking counsel together, they unceremoniously “walked out” of Rome, and there was no one left to play at the sacrifices. The Romans, alarmed for fear the anger of the gods would descend upon them because of the musicless sacrifices, lost no time in tracing the vanished musicians to Tibur. The people of Tibur agreed to coöperate with the Romans; and calling the flutists before their senate, they urged them to return to Rome. The flutists refused, whereupon the people of Tibur planned a ruse. A festal day was at hand. To celebrate it, various citizens of Tibur announced that they would give feasts; and to play at these feasts they each hired groups of Roman flutists, until all of the latter were employed. At the feasts the several householders drugged the musicians with wine until they were unconscious, then loaded them into waiting vans, and had them hauled back to Rome. In the morning, the heavy-headed, disgruntled musicians found themselves in the Forum at Rome, surrounded by crowds of Romans. It was not with ridicule, however, that the onlookers met the ignominiously returned flutists. Begging them to stay in Rome, they promised to restore the privilege of banqueting in the temple of Jupiter and to add to it the gift of the absolute freedom of the whole city for a three-day festival every year. And the flutists stayed.

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

**A Suggestion for Vergil Students**

L. C. Wetherell of the Department of Latin, Male High School, Louisville, Kentucky, gives a brief account of letters written by boys in that school:

Recently I asked my Vergil class to write letters addressed from Aeneas to Dido with somewhat the following results: One boy made a plasticene tablet 5x7x1 and, at the heading of this, made a representation of Jupiter, the head of a horse symbolical of the horse found at Carthage, and lastly a head representing Juno. He then worked out care-

fully by means of a stylus the message he wished to convey. The use of plasticene could be worked out very nicely in a number of ways.

Another boy sent in a letter written scroll-fashion on brown paper. To make the whole affair more like the original he tore out patches here and there in the paper, making it appear that the letter had actually been written upon papyrus. On each side of the scroll he had drawn crude pictures representing mythological subjects and pictures concerning the letter.

#### ***Livestock in Mythology and Religion***

Free copies of an interesting, illustrated bulletin of this title may be obtained by writing to Dr. Rudolf A. Clemen, Armour's Livestock Bureau, Union Stock Yards, Chicago.

#### **The Playbook of Troy**

In the October number of this department, reference was made to this book in a description of the Latin Exhibit at the N. E. A. Information secured regarding it is as follows: Susan Meriwether, *Playbook of Troy* (Playbook Series): New York, Harper and Bros. (1927). Ill. by Esther Peck. \$2.00.

#### **A Latin Word List**

The College Entrance Examination Board has published a Latin Word List for the use of teachers in preparing their pupils for the examinations in Latin. The list contains a vocabulary that students are expected to have at the end of two years, three years, and four years of study. Address College Entrance Examination Board, 431 West 117th Street, New York City. Price, twenty-five cents.

#### **A Suggestion for Binding Posters**

Teachers who prefer sets of posters to scrapbooks will enjoy using binder clips for grouping purposes. The *L. E. B. Binder Clip* may be purchased from Cushman and Denison Mfg. Co., New York City. Small size, eight cents; large size, fifteen cents.

#### **So You're Going to Italy**

The title of this book is suggestive of the content. Miss Clara Laughlin has written a very delightful account of travel in Italy which every student of the classics will enjoy. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., New York City. Price, \$2.00.

## Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Car., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, for example, appears on October fifteenth and that the forms close on September fifth.]

### American School of Classical Studies in Athens

Professor Louis E. Lord sends the following report under date of December first: The American School of Classical Studies has concluded its autumn trips to historic sites of Greece. The details of the northern trip were given in a previous report. Assistant Director Luce and Mr. Broneer had charge of the expedition to the Peloponnesus. A number of prehistoric sites were visited, including Dendra, where the Swedes recently made such valuable finds. For the first time the School visited the Venetian site of Monemvasia. Careful study was devoted to the remains at Nemea, Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, Tiryns, Mycenae, Asine, Epidauros, Tegea, Phlius, Arcadian Orchomenos, Sparta, Mistra, Messene, Ithome, Megalopolis, Bassae, and Mantinea.

After returning to Athens and recovering from this rather strenuous trip the school spent three days at Olympia under Mr. Carpenter's inspiring direction. Each student was required to report on and describe a number of the buildings in or near the Altis. The sculptures in the Museum were discussed by Mr. Carpenter and by Mr. Morgan of the department of Fine Arts at Harvard. Several members of the school stopped on the way back to Athens to pay a visit to the remarkable monastery at Megaspelaion.

During the next three months lectures will be given in Athens by

members of the staff. Director Carpenter will lecture on sculpture, beginning with the Nike Temple and the Acropolis Museum. Mr. Luce will give a course on vases. Dr. Broneer will discuss the topographical problems in the Greek historians. Weather permitting, weekly trips will be taken by the students to points of interest in Attica.

#### **Travel Fellowships, Bureau of University Travel**

The Bureau of University Travel offers for the summer of 1929 four fellowships to graduate students in art, archaeology, and history. Each fellowship gives a free trip to Europe in connection with one of the study tours of the Bureau, to be chosen with reference to the candidate's particular line of study. All necessary travel expenses from New York to New York are covered, including passport and visas. The fellowships involve no obligation of any kind, either at the time or later, except loyalty to the work while in progress. The period covered by the fellowship is that of the academic vacation. The purpose is to aid students whose studies are such as can be definitely furthered by such an opportunity. Candidates must be graduates, preferably of a few years back, but still of student years. Health, personality, and professional prospects will weigh in the decision. For the present, the choice will be restricted to men. Inquiries should be addressed to President H. H. Powers, 11 Boyd Street, Newton, Mass.

#### **Drake University**

Professor Sherman Kirk, professor of Greek language and literature at Drake University, has been granted a semester's leave of absence and sailed on the "Adriatic" on February 28. He was presented with a Cine-Kodak and expects to bring back some interesting pictures of scenes in classic lands.

#### **University of Iowa**

Every Sunday evening from 9:45 to 10 a representative of some department in the University of Iowa broadcasts a statement concerning the work of his department and recent developments in the field of study in which he is interested. At that hour on April 21 Professor Roy C. Flickinger will speak on "The Study of the Classics." The station is WSUI, having a wave length of 517 meters, 580 kilocycles.

#### **University of Kansas**

Xi Chapter of Eta Sigma Phi and the Classical Club recently coöperated in the staging of the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, in a translation made by the Plautus class.

Professor Alexander M. Wilcox, Professor of Greek in the University of Kansas, died on January 3, in his eightieth year. He had been head of the department from 1885 till his retirement from active teaching in 1916.

#### Classical Center, Los Angeles

Thanks to the efforts of Mr. E. W. Clark, principal of the Venice High School, a collection of twenty-five antique pieces has been added to the material available at the Classical Center. These include a large *amphora*, a "face vase" similar to the owl vases found in Troy, several rare and interesting lamps, a large *hydria* for carrying water from fountains, a large *patera* used as a fruit plate, fragments of glass whose iridescence is due to age and decay, a lady's toilet-box, found in a tomb near Naples, several drinking cups, and a number of beautiful Greek and Etruscan vases.

#### University of Wisconsin

For his "splendid services in the field of classical studies and Roman history," Professor Grant Showerman has received the "Cavaliere della Corona d'Italia" from the king of Italy.

## Recent Books

Compiled by HARRY M. HUBBELL, Yale University

- ARISTOPHANES, *The Clouds of Aristophanes*, adapted for Performance by the Oxford University Dramatic Society in 1905 and 1928; English Version by A. D. GODLEY and C. BAILEY: New York, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 94. \$0.85.
- ARISTOTLE, *The Works of Aristotle*, Vol. I. Fasc. 2, translated by W. A. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE: New York, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 302. \$2.50.
- ATHENAEUS, *The Deipnosophists*, with an English Translation by Charles Burton Gulick, Vol. II (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. viii + 533. \$2.50.
- BULLE, HEINRICH, *Untersuchungen an Griechischen Theatern*; Aufnahmen und Zeichnungen von HEINRICH WIRSING; Beiträge von K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, H. MÖBIUS, W. WREDE: München, R. Oldenbourg (1928). Pp. xii + 351, mit 47 Tafeln in Mappe und 34 Abbildungen im Text.
- CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY, VOLUME VIII, *The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome*, edited by S. A. COOK and others: Cambridge University Press (1928). Pp. 1020. 37s. 6d.
- CHANCE, ROGER, *Until Philosophers are Kings*; the Political Theory of Plato and Aristotle in Relation to the Modern State: London, University of London Press (1928). Pp. 310. 10s. 6d.
- CICERO, *Cicero and Antony*, Selections from the *Philippics* and the *Letters of Cicero*, edited by G. TURBERVILLE: New York, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 128. \$0.60.
- CICERO, *Letters to His Friends*, with English Translation by W. C. WILLIAMS, Vol. II (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. 660. \$2.50.
- CICERO, *The Verrine Orations*, with English Translation by L. H. G. GREENWOOD, Vol. I (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. xxi + 504. \$2.50.
- DUFF, A. M., *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*: Oxford, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 264. 12s. 6d.
- EPICTETUS, *Discourses as Reported by Arrian, the Manual, and Fragments*, with an English Translation by W. A. OLDFATHER, Vol. II



- (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. 559. \$2.50.
- GENNER, E. E., *Selections from the Attic Orators*: New York, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 262. \$1.50.
- JOHN CRAWFORD MILTON GRIMM, *The Construction 'Απὸ Κοινῶν in the Works of Horace*: Philadelphia, privately printed (1928). Pp. 39.
- LINFORTH, IVAN M., "Named and Unnamed Gods in Herodotus" (*University of California Publications in Classical Philology* Vol. VII, No. 7): Berkeley, University of California Press (1928). Pp. 43. \$0.55.
- LONGFORD, CHRISTINE, *Vespasian and Some of His Contemporaries*: Dublin, Hodges Figgis (1928). Pp. 206.
- LUCAN, *The Civil War, Books I-X*, with English Translation by J. D. DUFF (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. 654. \$2.50.
- OLLER, MARIE, and DAWLEY, ELOISE K., *Little Plays from Greek Myths*: New York, The Century Co. (1928). Pp. 189. \$0.84.
- OPPIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYPHIODORUS, with an English Translation by A. W. MAIR (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. lxxx + 636. \$2.50.
- PARSONS, CARRIE AMBROSE, and LITTLE, CHARLES EDGAR, *First Latin Lessons*, New York State Edition by ALVAH T. OTIS: New York, D. C. Heath and Co. (1928). Pp. 344. Ill. \$1.85.
- PLUTARCH, *The Greek Questions*, with a new Translation and a Commentary by W. R. HALLIDAY: New York, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 233. \$5.00.
- PLUTARCH, *Moralia*, with an English Translation by F. C. BABBITT, Vol. II (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. xiv + 508. \$2.50.
- PROCOPIUS, *The Gothic Wars, Books VII-VIII*, with an English Translation by H. B. DEWING, Vol. v (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. 448. \$2.50.
- PROPERTIUS, *Sexti Propertii Quae Supersunt Opera*, Edidit Novoque Apparatu Critico Instruxit O. L. RICHMOND: Cambridge University Press (1928). Pp. 440. 25s.
- RANDALL-MACIVER, DAVID, *Italy before the Romans*: Oxford, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 160. Ill. 6s.
- RHOADS, HOWARD GARRETT, and SMITH, ROBERT METCALF, *Types of Farce-Comedy*: New York, Prentice-Hall (1928). Pp. 598. \$2.00.
- ROBERTSON, J. C., and ROBERTSON, HARTLEY GRANT, *The Story of Greece and Rome; their Growth and their Legacy to our Western World*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1928). Pp. 366. Ill. \$1.55.

- SCHRÖDER, BRUNO, *Der Sport im Altertum*: Berlin, Hans Schötz & Co. (1927). Pp. 196. Ill.
- SMITH, ROBERT METCALF, *Types of Domestic Tragedy, Types of Historical Drama, Types of Romantic Drama, Types of Social Drama*, four volumes: New York, Prentice-Hall (1928). Pp. 576, 635, 621, and 759. \$2.00 each.
- SPIEGELBERG, W., *The Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt in the Light of the Egyptian Monuments*, translated by A. M. BLACKMAN: Oxford, Oxford University Press (1927). 40s.
- STRONG, EUGÉNIE SELLERS, *Art in Ancient Rome*, two volumes: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1928). Pp. 213 and 228. \$5.00.
- SUETONIUS, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Iulius*, with an Introduction and Commentary by H. E. BUTLER and M. CARY: Oxford, Oxford University Press (1927). Pp. 163.
- THEOPHRASTUS, *De Causis Plantarum, Book I*, Text, Critical Apparatus, Translation, and Commentary by ROBERT EWING DENGLE: Philadelphia, privately printed (1927). Pp. 143.
- TIBULLUS, *Tibulli Aliorumque Carminum Libri Tres*, edited by FRIDERICUS WALTHARIUS LEVY: Leipzig, B. G. Teubner (1927). Pp. xxii + 106. M. 3.20.
- WARMINGTON, E. H., *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*: Cambridge University Press (1928). Pp. 417.